BLACK PENTECOSTALISM:

ITS ORIGINS, FUNCTIONS AND THEOLOGY

with special reference to a Midland Borough

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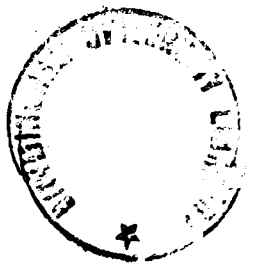

SYNOPSIS

While the immediate origins of 20th century Pentecostalism are in the Wesleyan-Holiness movement and in that form of Afro-American Christianity which developed during slavery, some of its roots go back to West Africa.

What began among a small black Christian group in Los Angeles in 1906 has now become a world-wide phenomenon which has spread to the Caribbean and from there to Britain.

Black settlers - primarily from rural Jamaica - arrived in urban England to face the racism and rejection, not only of the wider society but also of the white denominations. With them they brought types of Pentecostalism which are similar to and in some ways quite different from, both the mainstream denominations and white indigenous Pentecostalism.

Some of the black Pentecostal congregations established in the Borough of Wolverhampton remain tied to white North American headquarters while others are free from white control or influence with a concomitantly greater emphasis on certain black leitmotive.

These black Pentecostal congregations function to meet many

diverse needs of their members and adherents, and demonstrate in their orality, narrativity and life an implicit theology which is quite different from the superficially held fundamentalism inherited from white North Americans.

Although black Pentecostalism has syncretised certain West African leitmotive and holds to a number of distinctive doctrines, it nevertheless stands close to some of the worshipping communities of the New Testament.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Apostolic Church.
ACHT	Adrenocorticotropic hormone secreted by the pituitary gland.
ACoJC	Apostolic Churches of Jesus Christ.
AME	African Methodist Episcopal Church.
AMEZ	African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.
AoG	Assemblies of God (used for both British and American organisations).
AWUCOC	Afro-Westindian United Council of Churches.
BWCooLJC	Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ Worldwide.
CCoGiC	Calvary Church of God in Christ.
CoG	Church of God (Cleveland).
CoGF	Church of God Fellowship.
CoGiC	Church of God in Christ.
CoGiCJA	Church of God in Christ Jesus (Apostolic).
CoGoP	Church of God of Prophecy.
CoJC	Church of Jesus Christ.
CooLJCA	Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Apostolic)/Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith.
CoY	Congregation of Yahweh.
CRCoG	Calvary Resurrected Church of God.
ECiJC	Emmanuel's Church in Jesus Christ.
EPC	Elim Pentecostal Church.
FUCoJCA	First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic).
GAotAA	General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies.
KJV	King James Version of the Bible.
LCGC	London Community Gospel Choir.
NIV	New International Version of the Bible.
NTCoG	New Testament Church of God.
PAoJC	Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ.
PAoW	Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.
PCI	Pentecostal Church, Incorporated.
PMA	Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance.
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible.
UAFC	United Apostolic Faith Church.
UCoG	United Church of God.
UPC	United Pentecostal Church.

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1940s significant numbers of settlers have arrived in Britain from the Caribbean, bringing with them forms of Pentecostal Christianity which, in many ways, are quite different from both the mainstream denominations and white indigenous Pentecostalism. Where did these traditions originate? What influences contributed to the form they have taken? Why have they proliferated so rapidly that in less than forty years they have grown from nothing to over a thousand congregations in more than 150 organisations with about 67,000 adherents? Why are churches which are largely led by untrained and part-time working pastors so popular among the Afro-Caribbean population in Britain? What basic human needs or desires do they meet? Do such groups have a theology, and are they even Christian? These are some of the major questions which this thesis seeks to begin to address.

Almost anything which can be written about the black Pentecostal churches, however, is likely to be out of date almost before the ink is dry.1 Not only do many congregations move from one rented building to another with a rapidity which often makes it well nigh impossible for an outsider to locate them, but schisms can decimate both individual congregations and whole organisations, and bring new ones into being. Over the past decade the

'coming-of-age' of black Pentecostals who have been born and socialized in this country is beginning to create intergenerational tensions which are so powerful that dramatic change is imminent.

This research was carried out during the years 1983-1989, and while some of the findings of the mid 80s have been updated or confirmed, others have not. Like the wind and the Spirit, black Pentecostalism cannot be caught and examined - it is always dynamic. At best, one can describe the direction it was going in when encountered and note the effects it has on those for whom it is profoundly meaningful.

Even such a description, however, because it is textualised, is instantly doomed to be inadequate, limited and partial because it involves expressing that which is oral in writing and that which is primarily experiental in cognitive terms. 2 Such an oral tradition does not conform to the norms of most contemporary British Christianity or fit well into the mold of Western theology. The validity of the analytical tools and descriptive terms required for an approach to history and theology which uses oral sources has not yet been fully established except, of course, for the now textualised social orality of the Bible which critical scholars are familiar with.

Furthermore, this thesis is written by a white researcher

so, whatever its strengths in terms of detachment and objectivity, it can never fully reflect the experiental and subjective realities of all it means to be a black Christian in a predominantly white society. No amount of empathy or phenomenological awareness can compensate for the limitations of being both white in colour, culture and ascribed social status. Because black Pentecostalism is a product of black history and black experience it lies outside the world of the white researcher. The more he learns, discovers and analyses, the more he is made aware of the gulf which separates him from the black world. Furthermore, studies of black people by white people also run the risk of misunderstanding, missinterpretation and of being biased either because of feelings of guilt or of racist superiority on the part of the white researcher.

Why then carry out a study of black Pentecostalism? Perhaps because among the culturally specific elements are some universal factors which human beings hunger after and which are generally absent in the mainstream Christian denominations which so often reflect the individualistic, naturalistic, materialistic values of secular society. Some basic human and spiritual needs, which have been denied or subverted, are being met in black Pentecostal congregations which offer a real sense of community, spiritual experiences and an encounter with the divine. Carl Jung wrote:

It is of the highest importance that the educated and

> 'enlightened' should know religious truth as a thing living in the human soul and not as an abstruse and unreasonable relic of the past.[3]

The black Pentecostals already possess something of this living experiential truth that Jung encourages us to know. This would be reason enough to study a small sample of black Pentecostalism in Britain. However, those in Britain are but a tiny fraction of a world-wide pneumatic and charismatic phenomenon which has some 360 million adherents and - particularly in its black forms - is one of the most dynamic, creative and conciliatory forces in Christendom which merits far more study than it has received thus far.[4]

Only if white literary analytical Christians and black oral narrative Christians learn each others languages will they come to really understand and value each others contributions to the Church of the **oikoumene.**

Notes and References

1. I have used the term 'black' to describe people from the Caribbean and their British born offspring because, inspite of its commonly ill defined use in reference to all people from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, it is preferred by most of the Pentecostals of Afro-Caribbean origin which I have spoken to and is generally an acceptable term.

2. Oral sources have been used as a basis for much of this research. Where an undertaking has been given not to divulge the identity of informants - as an incentive for them to speak freely - audio-taped sources appear in the notes and references as 'Interview' followed by a letter to indicate ethnicity and an identification number.

3. Jung, Carl G, **Letters**, Vol 1, p 387.

4. Barrett, David B, 'The Twentieth Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal in the Holy Spirit, with Its Goal of World Evangelization' in **International Bulletin of Missionary Research** Vol 12, No 3, July 1988. Barrett's estimates are perhaps a little too large, influenced as they are by the inclusion of groups which can only be classified as Pentecostal in the broadest sense.

PART I

WEST AFRICA, WEST INDIES, WEST MIDLANDS

CHAPTER ONE

THE AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN ROOTS OF PENTECOSTALISM!

> Slavery had stretched its dark wings of death over the land, the Church stood silently by - the priests prophesied falsely and the people loved to have it so.
> - Henry Highland Garnet, 'An Address to the Slaves of the United States'
>
> Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.
> - Psalm 68,verse 31

The Pentecostal Movement, which began in the United States at the start of this century, has its roots in both the understanding and practice of Christianity which developed among the African diaspora in the crucible of New World slavery, and in the American Wesleyan-Holiness Movement. While its emphasis on glossolalia originated with the white Holiness minister, Charles Fox Parham, many of its other distinctive features were inherited from the Black Christian community and, in particular, from the black leader of the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles - William Joseph Seymour.

a. AFRO-AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

In spite of the forced acculturation of Africans brought as slaves to the Americas, there is evidence of some degree of continuity between African primal religion and Black North

American Christianity.2 In the bi-cultural clash of slavery many black people adopted, adapted and syncretised Western Christianity with much of their West African tradition to produce a 'tertium quid' - a distinctively black form of Christianity which is different from either Western Christianity or West African primal religion. As noted by Albert J. Raboteau:

> Shaped and modified by a new environment, elements of African folklore, music, language, and religion were transplanted to the New World by the African diaspora... One of the most durable and adaptable constituents of the slave's culture, linking African past with American present, was his religion. It is important to realise, however, that in the Americas the religions of Africa have not been merely preserved as static 'Africanisms' or as archaic 'retentions ...African styles of worship, forms of ritual, systems of belief, and fundamental perspectives have remained vital on this side of the Atlantic, not because they were preserved in a 'pure orthodoxy but because they were transformed. Adaptability, based upon respect for spiritual power wherever it originated, accounted for the openness of African religions to syncretism with other religious traditions and for the continuity of a distinctively African religious consciousness."3

The West African primal religion of those carried into slavery did not rely on written creeds or written liturgies which could be easily destroyed by their oppressors, for African, religion, history and culture was preliterate and passed on from generation to generation by oral tradition and symbolism: narratives - myths, legends and folk tales - riddles, songs, proverbs and other aphorisms, enacted in ritual and drama, danced and sung, beaten out in the rythms and tones of 'talking' drums, the swaying of bodies and the stamping of feet.4 These oral and physical methods of transmitting religion and culture in West Africa ensured

some degree of continuity in the New World.

The primal religion of newly imported slaves was holistic. It incorporated the individual into the ethnic community which - like Old Testament Israel - was the worshipping community. In fact, for the African, the individual is an abstraction, for a person only becomes and remains fully human as a result of social intercourse and socially ethical behaviour with promotes the sense of community. Primal religion also integrated the seen and unseen worlds. The sacred was merged with and influenced the profane, and the ancestors of the past were incorporated into the spiritual present. In Africa, there is no native word for religion because religion is all of life.5

Although there are more than a thousand ethnolinguistic communities in Africa, and each has its own religious system, there is a common world view and a matrix of universal beliefs.6 African primal religions believe in the spiritual existence of ancestors, lesser deities and other supernatural beings. They also revere one "Supreme Being" who is the omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient and transcendent creator, judge, redeemer, provider and healer of His people.7 Although the Supreme Being is ultimately the source of all life and power, this power is diffused among the lesser deities and ancestor spirits to whom sacrifice must be made if life is to be propitious.8

From the perspective of the holistic and integrated world view of Africa, power obtained in the spiritual realm is considered effective in transforming the concrete realities of the natural world - of every day life. Sickness is perceived of as a depletion of the life force and healing can only be made complete when man replenishes it by contact with the spritual or the divine. Similarly, social change can only be achieved by tapping into the powers of the unseen world. Thus primal African religion has much to do with obtaining the power of the spirits, ancestors and gods which derives from the Spirit of the Supreme Being, for without this **force vitale** man is perceived as impotent and helpless.[9]

Not surprisingly, the African diaspora, rendered powerless, "acclimated"[10] and stripped of all but the remnants of its internalised culture and belief system by dehumanising chattel slavery, turned to the supernatural and the divine for power, if not immediately to overthrow the tyranny of their bondage, at least to aid them in psychological, moral and physical survival.[11]

To attune herself to the supernatural and the divine, the African - both in West Africa and in the Americas - made extensive use of music and rythme. Through drumming, singing, dancing and other motor behaviour the devotee opened herself up to the spirits of her primal religion which she perceived as empowering and possessing her. In

the New World she often credited the Holy Spirit with these functions

Because of the pragmatism of primal tribal religions, Africans were particularly adept at syncretising elements from the religions of other ethnolinguistic groups and adopting 'new' gods, particularly when these elements or gods were considered to be more potent than there own. Thus, in the New World, the ancestors, lesser deities and Supreme Being of Africa became identified with the Apostles, Saints, Angels, Demons and God of the Bible. Other beliefs, such as the Fatherhood of God; the creation; mankind's loss of paradise, eternal life and direct communion with God; a personal devil; substitutionary and expiatory sacrifice; the efficacy of prayer; water baptism (immersion); life after death; judgement and reward or punishment were common to both Christian and primal African religion.12

While some of the early white Evangelicals stood in opposition to slavery and were themselves targets for hostility, this radicalism generally evaporated as their social status improved.13 White missionaries generally sought to demythologise and desupernaturalise the Negros' perceptions of the world, and encourage their passive acceptance of slavery by giving them the 'opiate' of an eschatological hope in heaven. However, there were also sections of the Bible which could be interpreted in terms

of African primal religion and spirit possession. Thus there was some continuity of belief, particularly with regard to the miraculous and the pneumatic.

Because missions to slaves and the white clergy often used the scriptures to justify the practice of New World slavery,black people were often extremely ambivalent about the Bible.[14] For example, in 1841 the slave owning Baptist clergyman, Thornton Stringfellow set forth a series of systematic arguments to support human bondage. He declared that "God **decreed slavery** - and shows in that decree tokens of good-will to the master."[15] In support of this claim he argued that, in both the Old and New Testaments, the term 'servant' or bond servant' is "identical in the import of it's essential particulars with the term slave among us," and cites such passages as Exodus 12:44,45 and Job 3:11,13,17-19 as evidence of this.[16] Furthermore, argues Stringfellow, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and Job were all slave-holders. Commenting on Genesis 24:35 he states:

> Here, servants are enumerated with silver and gold as part of patrimony. And, reader, bare it in mind; as if to rebuke the doctrine of abolition, servants are not only inventoried as property, but as property which **God had given to Abraham.**

These slaves and their children, according to Stringfellow, were then given in turn "as **property** to Isaac" and Jacob.[17] Jacob's descendants in Egypt "**were the owners of slaves that were bought with money, and treated as property.**" And at Mount Sinai God "**recognised slaves as property**" in the giving of the tenth commandment.[18]

On the basis of Leviticus 25:44-46, he asserts that the institution of involuntary slavery "is from God himself" and that "it authorises...[his chosen] people ...to purchase men and women as property; to hold them and their posterity in bondage; and to will them to their children as a possession forever; and more, it allows **foreign slaveholders** to **settle** and **live among them**; to **breed slaves and sell them**".19 He uses Exodus 21:11,12,20 to argue that God's laws authorised the beating of slaves "with a severity than terminates in death" and in reference to Exodus 21:2-4 states:

> Here is power given to the master, to separate man and wife, parent and child, by denying ingress to his premises, sooner than compel him to free or sell the mother, that the marriage relation might be honoured. The **preference** is given of God to **enslaving the father** rather than **freeing the mother and children**".20

Concerning slavery in the New Testament, Stringfellow wrote:

> that all the churches are recognised as composed of masters and servants; and they are instructed by Christ how to discharge their relative duties [and that these instructions add] to the obligation of the servant to render service with goodwill to his master...21

In support of such assertions he cites the Apostle Paul s epistles to the Ephesians (6:5-8), Colossians (3:22-24), Corinthians (1Cor 7:17,18,21,24), Romans (13:7),Titus (1:16;2:1-10; 3:1ff) and Timothy (1Tim 6:12). Concerning the references to Ephesians and Timothy, Stringfellow wrote that,

> at Ephesus... where Paul had laboured with great success for three years... the Apostle left Timothy

> for the purpose of watching against the false teachers, and particularly against the abolitionists.22 [Paul, he declares, teaches] the doctrine of perfect civil subordination on the part of hereditary slaves to their masters, whether believers or unbelievers... in the words of the Lord Jesus Christ himself.23

Finally, Stringfellow reflects one of the most common rationalisations used by 'Christian' slaveholders to justify their practices:

> Under the Gospel, it has brought within the range of Gospel influence, millions of Ham's descendants among ourselves, who, but for this institution, would have sunk down to eternal ruin; knowing not God and strangers to the Gospel. In their bondage here on earth, they have been much better provided for, and great multitudes of them have heen made freemen of the Lord Jesus Christ, and left this world rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.24

Thus the slaves, beaten to death for disobeying their 'Christian' masters were expected to be grateful for the hope of heaven imparted by those who tormented and murdered them.

Not surprisingly, black people rejected both the passivity of missionary teaching and many passages in the Bible which were generally believed to have been inserted by whites in order to justify slavery. On the other hand, there were sections of the Scriptures which became sources of inspiration and identity for the African diaspora in bondage.

Closely associated with the experience of spiritual power and spirit possession is the idea of freedom. 'Freedom' for the Negro slave was — when the overseer or white

missionary was listening – the evangelical idea of individual liberation from the bondage of personal sin. But freedom had more profound meaning for the black worshipping community when they would "steal away to Jesus" in their clandestine religious meetings. Then freedom meant to give oneself over to the presence, power and possession of the Spirit and, more importantly, to cry out in protest at the inhumanity of their oppression and bondage. And to declare that God would set them free in history from the social sin of slavery.[25]

Similar ambiguity is evident in much of the symbolic or allegorical language of the Negro spirituals where, for example, the devil and his legions or Pharoah and his army are identified with the perpetrators of slavery; Israel in bondage with the slave community; Egypt with the Southern States; and heaven, Canaan, home, "de promised land" and "de oder side of Jordan" with the Northern United States, Canada and Africa.[26]

> When Israel was in Egypt's land,
> Let my people go;
> Oppressed so hard they could not stand,
> Let my people go;
> Go down Moses way down in Egypt's land;
> Tell ole Pharoah:
> Let my people go.[27]

Slaves also identified themselves with little David who triumphed, with God's aid, over the giant Goliath; with Daniel who was preserved by God in the Lion's den, and with Joshua whose army was granted divine aid to destroy Jericho. God's redemption was in history and not merely an

other worldly eschatological hope.[28] The Christian slave community looked to the God of the Old Testament - the Lord of Hosts - to deliver them from bondage as He had delivered the children of Israel from Egypt. One day, they believed, God would set them free for - inspite of their daily experience of degradation and oppression - they were the people of God. And if God did not deliver them in history, then the apocalyptic end of history inaugurated by the Parousia would lead to the righting of every wrong, the judgement of the oppressor and the freedom of the oppressed. Meanwhile they lived an inaugurated eschatology which sought to change the present to conform to the future, and they experienced the God and kingdom of the future in the present overwhelming power of the Spirit.[29]

Confronted by the dehumanising conditions imposed upon them by servitude, Christian slaves retained their sense of community, rejected the passivity of missionary teaching which usually encouraged them to accept their lot, and stressed freedom, human welfare and human dignity. As Erskine says, "The community provided for black people the context with which the possibility to become more fully human in history became real." Further, "black religion is black people's search in history for freedom."[30]

In Jesus of Nazareth God assumed the form of a slave (Philippians 2:7) and in so doing identified himself with their bondage, their oppression and their desire for

deliverance and liberation. The slave, in turn, often identified with Christ. South African theologian Gabriel Setiloane, expressed something of this identification with the crucified when he wrote:

> And yet for us it is when he is on the cross,
> This Jesus of Nazareth, with holed hands and open side, like a beast at a sacrifice:
> When he is stripped, naked like us,
> Browned and sweating water and blood in the heat of the sun,
> Yet silent,
> That we cannot resist Him.31

Many Negro Spirituals also refer to the crucifixion of Jesus where the Christ shares in their suffering and they in His:

> They nail my Jesus down,
> They put on Him the crown of thorns,
> O see my Jesus hanging high!
> He look so pale an' bleed so free:
> O don't you think it was a shame,
> He hang three hours in dreadful pain?32

Unjustly beaten and executed, he was identifiable as one of them in his anguish and pain. But more than this, he was also the one who had conquered death and was present with them in their suffering to provide succour and hope for ultimate deliverance.

> I'm troubled, I'm troubled, I m troubled in mind,
> If Jesus don't help me, I surely will die.
> O Jesus, my Saviour, on thee I'll depend,
> When troubles are near me, you'll be my true friend.
> When laden with trouble and burdened with grief,
> To Jesus in secret I'll go for relief.
> In dark days of bondage to Jesus I prayed,
> To help me to bear it, and he gave me his aid.33

The identification with Christ in His suffering and the consciousness of His presence helped the slave not only to survive but also to challenge slavery itself. Deliverance

would surely come:

> Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
> D'liver Daniel, d'liver Daniel,
> Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel,
> And why not-a every man?
> He delivered Daniel from the Lion's den,
> Jonah from the belly of the whale,
> And the Hebrew children from the firey furnace,
> And why not every man?

If the first priority was survival, the second was certainly liberation!

Unlike most white Christians, however, who adhered only to the idea of Jesus as the suffering and obedient servant of his Heavenly Master, black Christianity also perceived Christ as continuing in the same tradition as the Old Testament prophets who championed social justice and called down the wrath of Yahweh upon the oppressors of his people. Many protests against slavery written by black people from the last quarter of the 18th century, and numerous slave insurrections, were inspired - at least in part - by the black understanding of Christianity. Conspiracies and rebellions were so often linked to religious meetings that many types of slave gathering - including public funerals and holiday feasts - were banned in parts of the Southern States and in the Caribbean. Legislation was passed in the South to prohibit slaves from acquiring literacy and make it "unlawful for any slave, free Negro, or mulatto to preach the gospel"[34]

Inspite of oppressive legislation, the Great Awakening

resulted in many slaves being converted to Christianity so that by the end of the 18th century about one quarter of all the Methodists and Baptists in the South were black. At the beginning of the 19th century, the Great Western Revival further swelled the ranks of the Black Church. The revivalist camp meetings, which stressed the experience of conversion rather than religious instruction, made Christianity more accessible to the illiterate and poorly educated, and the emotionalism, ecstatic behaviour and congregational responses were particularly amenable to the African religious heritage of black people.[35]

By the first quarter of the 19th century, black Baptist churches were established in the South and by the end of the century the North also had independent Baptist congregations and Methodist Societies. Within forty years of emancipation almost one third of the Negro population in the South were church members.[36] These early black congregations were concerned, not only with the spiritual welfare of their people but also with community action, social welfare and, most importantly, freedom and abolition. "Liberty", said the black Presbyterian minister, Henry Highland Garnet,

> is a spirit sent out from God,' and like its great Author, is no respecter of persons...Awake, awake; millions of voices are calling you! Your dead fathers speak to you from their graves. Heaven, as with a voice of thunder, calls on you to arise from the dust. Let your motto be resistance! Resistance' RESISTANCE![37]

When the American Civil War brought about the emancipation

of the slaves in the South, many black Christians perceived this as God working in history of their behalf. The God who had delivered Israel from bondage in Egypt had now delivered them. In Washington they added a verse to Go down Moses' which was sung at midnight to herald in the first day of freedom:

> Go down Abraham,
> Away down in Dixie's land;
> Tell Jeff Davis
> To let my people go [38]

Others sang:

> Slavery chain done broke at last,
> Goin' to praise God till I die.
>
> Freedom at last!
> Freedom at last!
> Great God-a-mighty,
> Freedom at last![39]

With emancipation came the integration of the institutional black churches in the North with the 'invisible institution' of the church which had developed among the slaves in the South. This was accomplished with some difficulty because the Northern churches conformed more closely to European patterns of worship, while in the South there was still considerable evidence of African retentions in terms of liturgy, pneumatology and motor behaviour.[40]

By the beginning of the 20th century the black churches in America were becomming increasingly conformed to white middle-class conservative evangelicalism. The militancy of the preceding century was replaced with the gradualism and self-improvement philosophy of Booker T.Washington. Many

Negroes, particuraly light-skinned mulattos, were now well educated and, inspite of discrimination, were moving into the lower-middle class. The Jesus of the new black bourgeoisie was the non-violent, patiently suffering white Christ.41

Into the urban ghettos of the North came the poor Negroes of the South in search of a better way of life. They were often treated with disdain by the Northern black bourgoisie and found little of relevance in their congregations. Freedom had not brought about acceptance or equality either outside or inside the churches.

Black proletarian Christianity - particularly that which developed in the South - was a syncretism of African primal religion and the Christianity of the white man. It was a unique response to slavery and oppression. During the camp meeting revivals of the 18th and 19th centuries, the manifestations of motor behaviour among black people had been characteristically African in origin. Raboteau writes that: "...slaves tended to express religious emotion in certain patterned types of bodily movement influenced by the African heritage of dance." The camp-meetings, continues Raboteau,

> where enthusiastic and ecstatic religious behaviour was encouraged, presented a congenial setting for slaves to merge African patterns of response with Christian interpretations of the experience of spirit possession, an experience shared by both black and whites... While the North American slaves danced under the impulse of the Spirit of a 'new' god, they

> danced in ways their fathers in Africa would have recognised.[42]

Such distinctively African motor behaviour became the norm in many black churches in spite of criticism by white clergy and the ministers of the new aculturated black bourgeoisie in the North.

While there are differences between the pneumatology of West African primal religion and that of black proletarian Christianity, the music, rhythm and motor behaviour associated with "getting the Spirit" was, and still is, phenomenally very similar to that of African spirit possession. Shouting, antiphonal responses, repetitious singing, glossolalia, clapping, foot tapping, stamping, jumping, swaying the body, alternately shifting the weight from one foot to the other, dancing and other motor behaviour were all practised in West African primal religion and slave Christianity, and continue to be manifest in black Pentecostal and Pentecostal type worship wherever the African diaspora is found in the United States, Jamaica and Britain.[43]

Such demonstrations were not however exclusive to black people. Whites who attended the 18th and 19th century camp meetings appear to have adopted some of this behaviour from their black co-religionists, in much the same way as they adopted their music - the blues, jazz, rock and roll and gospel.[44]

Inspite of similarities, the black Americans' understanding and practice of Christianity differed from that of the dominant white European culture in ways which are directly related to their West African heritage and their experience of slavery. These differences, which I have called the Black Leitmotive, were part of the religious heritage of the black Christians who brought the twentieth century Pentecostal movement to birth in Los Angeles at a time when many black proletarians were seeking a solution to the inequalities of racist America.

b. THE WESLEYAN-HOLINESS MOVEMENT

The origins of Pentecostalism lie, however, not only in the black American understanding and practice of Christianity, but also in the Holiness Movement which grew out of Wesleyan Methodism. It was from the Holiness Movement in the United States that Pentecostalism inherited much of its emotional fervour, revivalism, Biblical literalism, Armenian soteriology, teaching on divine healing, ethical rigorism, rejection of ecclesiasticism and belief in a crisis experience subsequent to conversion. This doctrine variously known as the "Second work of Grace" or "Second Blessing" of "entire sanctification" was a simplification of one of the central tenets of John Wesley who taught a post-justification experience of cleansing "from all filthiness both of flesh and spirit."[45]

During the 1857-58 revival, the Holiness teaching was embraced by most of the major Protestant denominations in the Northern United States, and the social dislocation following the Civil War was responded to by the churches calling for a return to holiness. However, during the second half of the 19th century the evangelical Protestant churches in the Northern and Western United States prospered within the new socio-economic climate created by urban industrialisation and underwent a process of embourgeoisement. The values of the secular culture were embraced, ornate buildings erected and worship increasingly formalised.[46]

During the last quarter of the 19th century the predominantly working-class Holiness people, both black and white, reacted against the churches' adoption of middle-class secular culture and withdrew themselves from such "worldliness" to form their own Holiness associations. While middle-class Methodism rejected the doctrine of sanctification as a second work of grace; the Holiness people reasserted it with a vengence. Many of them also insisted on a variety of prohibitions concerning food, clothing, jewelery, cosmetics, medicines and "worldly amusements". And such "manifestations of the Spirit" as healings, visions, and, occasionally, glossolalia were encouraged.[47]

A few adopted the views of Benjamin Hardin Irwin who taught that a "third blessing" of a "baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire" should follow the second blessing of sanctification - a teaching which prefigured the beliefs of the early Pentecostal movement.[46]

By the beginning of the 20th century two changes had occurred in the Holiness movement. Many left the organised Holiness denominations, dissatisified with the increasing degree of regulation and restraint which limited congregational emotionalism and ecstaticism; and a new nomclature began to appear for the "second blessing" which was increasingly referred to as the "Baptism of the Holy Ghost". Associated with this terminological shift, came a pneumatic emphasis, an exegetical shift to the Acts of the Apostles and the prophecy of Joel Chapter 2, and growing eschatological speculation.[49]

By the turn of the century, the Holiness people - both black and white - were anticipating the immminent premillenial, apocalyptic Second Advent of Christ which they believed would be preceeded by a world-wide revival.[50]

Isolated revivals did break out at the beginning of the century, the most notable of which were in Australia under Reubin A Torrey and in Wales under Evan Roberts.[51]

c. CHARLES F PARHAM AND GLOSSOLALIA

In October 1900, a twenty-seven year old white Holiness

evangelist, Charles Fox Parham, opened the 'College of Bethel' in an unfinished mansion, known as Stone s Folly, in Topeka, Kansas. Parham had been influenced both by Methodism and Irwin's "Fire Baptized" movement which taught that a "baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire" should follow sanctification.[52] Parham believed that this third experience should be accompanied by missionaries to foreign fields being supernaturally enabled to preach in the languages of their prospective converts (xenoglossia rather than glossolalia).[53]

To Parham's college came some thirty-six white people seeking for a new experience of the Holy Spirit.[54] Near the end of December, Parham was away from Bethel for three days and, before he left, gave the following instructions to his students:

> The gifts are in the Holy Spirit and with the baptism of the Holy Spirit the gifts, as well as the graces, should be manifested. Now, students, while I am gone, see if there is not some evidence given of the baptism so there may be no doubt on the subject.[55]

Upon his return to Stone's Folly on the morning of December 30th, the unanimous opinion of the students was that "the indisputable proof" of "the Pentecostal blessing" was that the recipients "spake with other tongues". The group at Bethel plus some seventy-five other white Christians who had joined them for the New Year holidays committed themselves to prayer, fasting and the worship of God as they "awaited the coming of the Spirit in a second Pentecost".[56] Around seven o'clock on the first day of

January 1901, records Agnes Osman, "...it came into my heart to ask Bro. Parham to lay hands upon me that I might receive the gift of the Holy Spirit."[57] As Parham prayed and layed his hands of her head she "began to speak in tongues, glorifying God." Parham claimed: "I had scarcely repeated three dozen sentences when a glory fell upon her, a halo seemed to surround her head and face, and she began speaking in the Chinese language and was unable to speak English for three days."[58]

On the evening of the 3rd January, while Parham was holding a meeting elsewhere, many others at Bethel College received the same glossolalic experience. Lillian Thistlethwaite, Parham's sister-in-law, described it thus:

> ...a great joy came into my soul and I began to say, "I praise Thee," and my tongue began to get thick and great floods of laughter came into my heart. I could no longer think words of praise, for my mind was sealed, but my mouth was filled with a rush of words I didn't understand. I tried not to laugh for I feared to grieve the Spirit. I tried to praise Him in English but could not, so I just let the praise come as it would in the new language given, with floodgates of glory wide open. He had come to me, even to me to speak not of himself but to magnify the Christ, - and oh, what a wonderful, wonderful Christ was revealed. Then I realised I was not alone for all around me I heard great rejoicing while others spoke in tongues and magnified God.[59]

Parham, returning from his meeting, heard "...all the students...talking in unknown tongues, no two talking the same language, and no one understanding his or her neighbour's speech." Then he received the same experience: "Right then there came a slight twist in my throat, a glory fell over me and I began to worship God in the Sweedish

[sic] tongue, which later changed to other languages and continued till morning."[60]

After some initial interest created by newspaper coverage, the glossolalic group disbanded and Parham returned to his original emphasis on divine healing.[61] In the Autumn of 1903 he had a successful revival in the frontier mining town of Galena, Kansas, but although many were converted, baptised and "enabled to speak in foreign tongues", it was primarily healing which attracted the crowds.[62] Subsequent revivals led to the establishment of several "Apostolic Faith" missions and house meetings throughout Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas.

In December 1905, Parham rented two large houses in Houston, Texas, and opened a Bible school where teaching now included direct communications from the Holy Spirit through prophecy, glossolalia and interpretation. To this school came the black Holiness preacher - William Joseph Seymour.[63]

d. WILLIAM J SEYMOUR AND THE BLACK LEITMOTIVE

William Joseph Seymour was born in Louisiana in 1870 and grew up amid violent and institutionalised racism and segregation. Through his own efforts he became literate and read the Bible. He also imbibed the world view and distinctively Black understanding of Christianity shared by his community. From his African forefathers he inherited

an integrated holistic world view; a strong sense of community, belief in Spirit possession, power and communication; the value of visions and dreams, and healing by the Spirit; the importance of rhythm and dance in worship; oral narrative theology and liturgy; and ethics as abstaining from anti-social or divisive behaviour. He also inherited those themes which had developed among the Black Christian community in the crucible of New World slavery: the work of the devil in the concrete realities of black peoples lives evidenced by the oppression, discrimination and cruelty they suffered at the hands of whites; freedom, human dignity, human welfare and equality; Christ as the champion of social justice; an inaugurated eschatology which gave black people dignity and hope, and declared that if black people were to "walk and talk with Jesus in the New Jerusalem" it was because they were God's children **now**; the expectation of, and desire for, the imminent cataclysmic Second Advent of Christ to exalt the oppressed, put down the oppressor and right every wrong. These were the leitmotive - the constantly recurring themes - of the Black Christian community.

At age twenty-five, Seymour moved from the oppressive South to Indianapolis, Indiana where he worked as a waiter and joined a black congregation of the interracial Methodist Episcopal Church rather than attending the nearby, exclusively Negro, Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church.[64] Douglas J Nelson writes that:

> Seymour's choice of the more interracial Methodist Episcopal Church was the first clear indication he gave of seeking interracial reconciliation. An earlier hint was his unusual leaving of the repressive rural Louisiana environment - not for a large Southern city - but for the traditional centre of the antebellum Underground Railroad where fugitive blacks had been welcomed and assisted to freedom. Seymour did not join any local church at Centreville where no interracial opportunities existed. It is probably not a coincidence that he departed Louisiana just as racial color lines were being imposed with increasing severity, reflecting his search for a more meaningful relationship with all other people. His choice of work in Indianapolis points to the same conclusion, for in a large downtown hotel restaurant he met whites in a surrounding where people spoke to one another.[65]

As Methodism became more formal and bourgois, its concern for racial justice, equality, and holiness was eroded, and Seymour was one of many proletarian members - both black and white - who left.[66]

In 1900, he moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he came under the influence of the white evangelist, Martin Wells Knapp. Knapp, like Seymour, stressed racial integration, the imminent Second Advent and divine healing. Seymour joined the interracial Evening Light Saints who shared his beliefs concerning holiness, divine healing and racial equality, and also stressed that a final great spiritual outpouring would take place just prior to the Parousia. He was ordained by the Saints after recovering from Smallpox which left him blind in one eye.

By the summer of 1905, Seymour was serving as pastor of the Black Holiness church of Lucy Farrow in Jackson,

Mississippi. Farrow was temporarily away in Kansas as governess to the family of Charles Parham. When she returned to Jackson in October, she told Seymour how she had experienced glossolalia in the Parham home. To learn more, Seymour travelled to Houston in December and enrolled in Parham's Bible school.[67]

At nine o'clock each morning Seymour attended Parham's classes but was not allowed to sit with the other white students. Because he was black, and Parham practised strict segregation, Seymour sat outside the classroom door which was left ajar for him to hear the lesson. In the afternoons, Parham and Seymour would preach together in the black district of town but during the public services in the evenings Seymour and other blacks were once again segregated and prohibited from coming forward to the altar to receive ministration.[68]

Seymour, while rejecting some of Parham's teaching - particularly his racism - accepted that glossolalia was the initial evidence of a person having received the "third experience" of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, but it was not until the following year that he received this experience himself.[69]

At the invitation of the Santa Fe Street Mission, a small black Holiness congregation, Seymour left Houston and travelled to Los Angeles to be their pastor. In the 'City

of the Angels' there was less racial segregation than was common in the United States at this time, there was an air of spiritual expectancy inspired by the 1904-06 Welsh Revival, and the anomic migrant population spawned a multitude of proletarian Christian sects.[70]

e. THE BIRTH OF THE 20TH CENTURY PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

Immediately upon his arrival in Los Angeles, Seymour began to preach on conversiion, sanctification, divine healing, the imminent Second Advent, and glossolalia as the initial evidence of Spirit baptism. The controversial nature of his teaching on glossolalia resulted in the Mission being closed to him, and Seymour moved into the home of Edward ("Irish") S.Lee and his wife, where some members of the Mission visited him. In February, 1906 he went to live in the home of another black couple, Richard and Ruth Asbury. There, regular prayer meetings were held as the black group sought to receive the baptism of the Spirit with the sign of glossolalia. On Monday 9th April Edward Lee asked Seymour to pray for him that he might have this experience. Seymour laid hands on him and prayed; Lee burst forth in other tongues. "At last", exulted Lee, "This is that"![7]

That evening the two of them walked to the prayer meeting in the nearby Asbury home at 214 North Bonnie Brae Street. When they arrived the house was crowded with black people, most of whom held menial occupations. After a time of worship, Seymour rose to preach and prefaced his sermon

with an account of Lee's experience. As soon as Seymour had completed his description, Lee lifted up his hands and began to speak in glossolalia. "Immediately", writes Nelson,

> the entire company was... swept to its knees as by some tremendous power. At least seven - and perhaps more - lifted their voices in an awsome harmony of strange new tongues. Jennie Evans Moore, falling to her knees from the piano seat, became the first woman thus to speak. Some rushed out to the front porch, yard, and streets, shouting and speaking in tongues for all the neighbourhood to hear... Teenager Bud Traynor stood on the front porch prophesying and preaching. Jennie Evans Moore returned to the piano and began singing in her beautiful voice what was thought to be a series of six languages with interpretations.[72]

During the three days which followed, crowds - including many whites - came to the Asbury home to witness and experience glossolalia, trance and healing.[73]

On the 12th April, Seymour received his Pentecost. Praying late into the night, he and a white man continued their vigil. "Finally", writes Nelson,

> the white friend faltered, exhausted. "It is not the time," he said wearily. "Yes it is," replied Seymour, "I am not going to give up." He kept on, alone, and in response to his last prayer, a sphere of white hot brilliance seemed to appear, draw near, and fall upon him. Divine love melted his heart; he sank to the floor seemingly unconscious. Words of deep healing and encouragement spoke to him. As from a great distance he heard unutterable words being uttered - was it angelic adoration and praise? Slowly he realised the indescribably lovely language belonged to him, pouring from his innermost being. A broad smile wreathed his face. At last, he arose and happily embraced those around him.[74]

The new movement grew rapidly and a disused wooden chapel, built by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was leased

at 312 Azusa Street. The building was cleared, sawdust scattered on the dirt floor, seating improvised by laying planks across boxes, nail kegs and odd chairs, and a pulpit constructed from two wooden crates covered in cloth. Seymour arranged all the furniture on one level with the pews in a circle around the pulpit and altar. A plan which, according to Nelson,

> ...reflected the **oneness in equality** Seymour envisioned. Worshippers gathered in a new way completely equal in the house of God, the body of Christ not a collection of individuals looking over the back of many heads simply to the clergy or choir but an intimate whole serving one another. This unconventional seating plan revealed Seymour's conviction that events transpiring at Azusa Mission were different, unique, and revolutionary.[75]

Such a concept of the worshipping community was a reflection of West African belief and practice, a longing for equality engendered during the dark night of chattel slavery and oppression, and a declaration of faith in the ability of the Holy Spirit to break into the racist society of the United States with reconciliatory power

The front page of the first edition of the Azusa Mission's newspaper, **The Apostolic Faith**, declared that the Pentecostal Movement was: "too large to be confined to any denomination or sect. It works outside, drawing all together in one bond of love, one church, one body of Christ."[76]

News of the events taking place at Bonnie Brae Street and the Azusa Mission spread like wildfire through Los Angeles

and the **Los Angeles Times** fanned the flames with their sensational reporting. On the same day as the great San Francisco earthquake and fire, when tremors were felt in Los Angeles, the **Times** reported that at the Azusa Mission a

> ...speaker had a vision in which he saw the people of Los Angeles flocking in a mighty stream to perdition. He prophesied awful destruction to this city unless its citizens are brought to a belief in the tenets of the new faith.[77]

The itinerant evangelist, Frank Bartleman, who had settled in Los Angeles in 1904, distributed 75,000 tracts declaring that the earthquake was God's warning.

At the Azusa Mission there were three services a day which often overlapped. Some meetings only attracted about a dozen people but within a month Sunday attendance had risen to 750 or 800 with a further four or five hundred, for whom there was no room, standing outside.[78]

The first issue of **The Apostolic Faith** reported that:

> Proud, well-dressed preachers came to investigate. Soon their high looks were replaced with wonder, then conviction comes, and very often you will find them in a short time wallowing on the dirty floor, asking God to forgive them and make them as little children.[79]

The same issue of **The Apostolic Faith** stated that: "...multitudes have come. God makes no difference in nationality. Ethiopians, Chinese, Indians, Mexicans, and other nationalities worship together."[80] And the December issue continued this theme: "The people are all melted together...made one lump, one bread, all one body in Christ

Jesus. There is no Jew or Gentile, bond or free, in the Azusa Mission...He is no respecter of persons or places."[81] Mack E Jones, who received the baptism of the Spirit at the Azusa Mission in June 1906, recalled that: "In Los Angeles he [Seymour] had his meeting, everybody went to the altar together. White and colored, no discrimination seemed to be among them."[82]

That black and white worshipped together without segregation was in itself unusual in the United States at this time. That this happened under the leadership of a black minister was truely remarkable. For Seymour, the baptism of the Holy Spirit was much more than a glossolalic experience, it was the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy that once again the barriers between the races would be broken down by the coming of the Spirit as on the day of Pentecost. It was also a re-assertion of the black leitmotive which maintained that change in human affairs can only be brought about by experiencing the power of the Spirit in community.[83]

The barriers of sex were also demolished by the outpouring of the Spirit:

> Before Jesus.. organised His church, He called them all into the upper room, both men and women, and anointed them with the oil of the Holy Ghost, thus qualifying them all to minister in this Gospel. On the Day of Pentecost they all preached through the power of the Holy Ghost. In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, all are one.[84]

The movement spread at a phenomenal rate. Thirty-eight

missionaries went out from the Azusa Street mission between the months of September and October 1906, and within two years it had spread to over fifty nations. Christian leaders visited from all over the United States, Canada and the world.[85]

In November 1906, G.B.Cashwell, a white Holiness minister from the South, arrived at the Azusa Mission. It took him several days to overcome his deep rooted xenophobia, anti-black prejudices and racial pride but eventually he asked Seymour and several other Negroes to lay hands on him that he might be filled with the Spirit - he was not disappointed. Returning to the South on the last day of December 1906, Cashwell disseminated the Pentecostal message among the Holiness groups.[86]

In June 1907, Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson, the white general overseer of the overwhelmingly white and segregationist Church of God (Cleveland) came in contact with the Pentecostal message at Birmingham, Alabama, through the preaching of M.M. Pinson. Throughout the year 1906 there was increasing interest in the baptism of the Holy Spirit and several Church of God ministers received the experience. In January 1908, Cashwell preached to a congregation in Cleveland which included Tomlinson. Tomlinson "slipped off" his "chair in a heap...at...Cashwell's feet" and "spoke in tongues as the Spirit gave the utterance." From this time the Church of

God became Pentecostal.87

In Memphis, Tennessee, the leaders of the black Church of God in Christ - C.H.Mason and C.P.Jones - heard of the events taking place in Los Angeles and in March 1907, Mason and two other black ministers travelled there to visit the Azusa Mission. Five weeks later they returned to Memphis having spoken in tongues and become convinced Pentecostals, only to find that the Pentecostal message and experience had preceded them in the person of the white preacher Glen A Cook. Mason and Cook spread the Pentecostal doctrine which, in August 1907, led to a split between the Mason-led Pentecostal faction and the Jones-led non-Pentecostal faction of the Church of God in Christ. The non-Pentecostals expelled Mason and the majority of the ministers and members who retained the name 'Church of God in Christ' and the doctrine of sanctification but added the Pentecostal experience to their articles of faith. This group with its new Pentecostal emphasis grew rapidly to become the largest Pentecostal denomination in the United States and the largest black Pentecostal organisation in the world.88

Within two years, the Pentecostal movement which had started in 1906 among a small black proletarian prayer meeting had become multiracial and multinational, and today numbers over 176 million Pentecostals, over 123 million Charismatics and more than twenty-eight million Christians

who share the Pentecostal/Charismatic experiences without adopting their theology.[89] Of the 360 million or more Pentecostal type Christians in the world, the overwhelming majority of them have a spiritual lineage which - either directly or indirectly - goes back to the Azusa Mission.[90] By the year 2000, the number of Pentecostal type Christians world wide may total in excess of 619 million by which time the majority of Christians in the world will probably be non-European.[91]

f. DIVISION AND SEGREGATION

In October 1906, Parham had travelled to Los Angeles and attempted to take control of the Azusa Mission. He wanted to ensure that black people "kept their place" and that whites did not imitate the black liturgy and motor behaviour which he described as "the unintelligent crude negroisms of the Southland".[92] When he arrived, black and white were worshipping together on the basis of complete equality, and whites and blacks were both shaking, jerking, dancing, falling down and speaking in tongues "under the power" of the Holy Spirit. Parham rebuked the congregation from the pulpit for what he described as "animalism". Later he wrote of worshippers

> ...all crowded together around the alter, and laying across one another like hogs, blacks and whites mingling; this should be enough to bring a blush of shame to devils, let alone angels, and yet all this was charged to the Holy Spirit.[93]

Parham maintained that the "Aryan race" are "the

descendants of Abraham," and include "the Anglo-Saxons and their descendants in all parts of the world." Only these nations, according to Parham, "have acquired and retained experimental salvation and deep spiritual truths...[while] the Black race, the Brown race, the Red race, the Yellow race, in spite of missionary zeal and effort are nearly all heathen still." Before the eschaton, according to Parham, the Anglo-saxons are to become the dominant race who will "possess" the native peoples "of Asia, Australia, Africa and America."[94] Not surprisingly, Parham was also strongly opposed to the "inter-marriage of the races," believing that:

> Were time to last and inter-marriage continue between the whites, the blacks, and the reds in America, consumption and other diseases would soon wipe the mixed bloods off the face of the earth.[95]

The congregation at Azusa Street rejected Parham's attempt to take control, and in December Seymour wrote a brief refutation of his racist views.[96] In the same month, Parham left Los Angeles but continued to vilify the Azusa Mission, condemn racial integration and preach for the Ku Klux Klan.[97] Arriving back in Texas he was charged with homosexuality and subsequently went off to look for Noah's Ark.[98]

The following year, a white preacher, Elmer Fisher, opened his "Upper Room" Pentecostal mission in Los Angeles and precipitated the first exodus of whites from Azusa.[99]

In 1911, while Seymour was on a preaching tour, another white Pentecostal arrived at the Azusa Mission. William H Durham, an ex-baptist, was propagating his controversial doctrine of "the finished work of Calvary".[100] He contended that the Wesleyan-Holiness view of sanctification as "a second work of grace" - a crisis experience following conversion - was heretical and that sanctification took place at the same time as justification. Returning to Los Angeles some ten weeks into Durham's campaign, Seymour found the Pentecostal movement split on the issue and promptly denied Durham further access to the Azusa Street Mission. When Durham died of pulmonary tuberculosis the following year, the movement was irrevocably split by his teaching which provided many whites with an excuse for withdrawing from the multiracial black-led fellowship.

In 1913, the followers of Durham's "Finished Work" faction held a "World-Wide Camp Meeting" in Los Angeles and the following year, at the instigation of Howard A Goss, the white dominated Assemblies of God was formed. While two thirds of white Pentecostals became Finished Work adherents only one in eight blacks did so. Thus in the North and West the Finished Work faction became a predominantly white enclave with a few urban blacks, while most black Pentecostals remained in the Second Work wing.[101]

In the Southern States, where most Pentecostals, both white and black, retained the Second Work teaching, the divisions

on the basis of race could not even be justified in terms of such fundamental beliefs. Both in 1907 and 1913 the groups which were later to become the Pentecostal Holiness Church split along the black-white divide.[102] The Church of God, which became Pentecostal in 1908, was segregated not only into black and white congregations but also separate black and white Annual Assemblies. The blacks, however, were kept firmly under white domination.[103]

The Church of God in Christ, led by black Bishop, C H Mason, ordained many white ministers who in 1914 turned their backs on their black brethren to form the white dominated Assemblies of God.[104]

In 1916, yet another major split occurred in the Pentecostal Movement. Effecting mainly the Assemblies of God, the "New Issue" controversy took place over the correct formula to be used when administering water baptism and divergent understandings of the nature of the Godhead. Prior to 1913, Pentecostals used both the triadic formula of Matthew 28:19 and the simple formula, "in the name of Jesus Christ," found in the Acts of the Apostles. However, this became a major issue following a pre-baptismal sermon preached by Robert E McAllister at the "World Wide Pentecostal Camp Meeting" at Arroyao Seco, California. Within two years, the "revelation" of "baptism in Jesus' name" had become a major issue in the Assemblies of God with all the preachers in Louisiana and many in Texas,

Arkansas and Oklahoma embracing the teaching. Increasingly, the simple baptismal formula became linked to a modalistic understanding of God which stressed a revelational rather than an ontological trinity. The "Jesus name" Pentecostals rejected the word "Trinity" in favour of the term "Oneness", while the Trinitarian wing of the movement further distanced themselves from the modalists by advocating a crude anthropomorphic trinitarianism which verged on tritheism.[105]

In October 1916 the Trinitarians in the Assemblies of God successfully ousted the Oneness advocates and as a result lost some 27% of their ministers and over 100 congregations.[106]

Behind this doctrinal issue lay a power struggle for control of the Assemblies of God and an uneasiness among many whites about the presence of blacks in their fellowship. The Assemblies of God were being severely criticised by white racist evangelicals and they were concerned to establish their 'respectability' among them. By forcing out the Oneness Pentecostals the Assemblies of God not only rid themselves of perceived 'heretics', they also expelled most of the black Christians. Thus, writes Anderson, "the Assemblies became and all but 'lilly white' denomination" and "has remained a white man's church."[107]

Many of the ousted Oneness ministers immediately set about

forming a distinctively "Jesus name" organisation but ran into problems with the entry of the United States into the First World War in April 1917. Their younger ministers were called up for military service and they were denied concessionary rail fares because they were not recognised by the Clergy Bureau. To overcome these difficulties, in January 1918 a 'marriage of convenience' was negotiated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World which had been formed in Los Angeles in 1906. In January of the following year the white leadership became interracial with the office of Secretary passing from W E Booth-Clibborn (white) to G T Haywoud (black). With Haywood's elevation came an increase in black ministers and a concomitant withdrawing of whites. The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World developed from a multi-racial but predominantly white organisation, into one in which both black and white worked together and participated in leadership. However, throughout the years 1920 and 1921, as the number of black ministers continued to increase, the racist norms of Christianity in the South began to re-emerge. In 1922 the whites held their own segregated "Southern Bible Conference" and two years later, having failed to segregate the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, the majority of white ministers withdrew to set up several all white organisations which eventually merged in 1945 to become the United Pentecostal Church.[102]

The 20th Century Pentecostal movement was brought forth

from the womb of the black church in America and inherited from its progenitors many of the leitmotive of syncretised black Christianity and the characteristics of the Wesleyan-Holiness movement. However, the inter-racial phenomenon of Azusa Street was soon undermined as whites sought both to dominate and segregate this proletarian glossolalic fellowship of equals.

Notes and References

1. Much of the material in this chapter is dealt with in greater detail in MacRobert, Iain, **The Spirit and the Wall: The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA**, MA Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1985, published as **The Black Roots and White Racism of Early Pentecostalism in the USA**, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 1988.

2. Herskovits, Melville J, **The Myth of the Negro Past**, Boston: Beacon Press, 1958; Wilmore, Gayraud S, **Black Religion and Black Radicalism**, New York: Doubleday, 1972; Cone, James H, **The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation**, New York: Seabury, 1972; Washington, Joseph R, **Black Sects and Cults**, Garden City, New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1973; Raboteau, Albert J, **Slave Religion: The Invisible Institution in the Antebellum South**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

3. Raboteau, pp 4,5. See also Wilmore, p 18.

4. Washington, pp 24-26,31; Bascom, William, 'Folk Lore and Literature' in Lystad, Robert A (Ed), **The African World: A Survey of Social Research**, London: Pall Mall Press for African Studies Association, 1965, pp 468-473, 475,478-486.

5. Washington, p 20; Mbiti, John S, **Introduction to African Religion**, London: Heineman, 1975, pp 22-27; Wilmore, pp 19,20; Taylor, John V, **The Primal Vision: Christian Presence Amid African Religion**, London: SCM Press, 1963, pp 18-20,57. The extreme dichotamisation of sacred and profane; of "two worlds between which there is nothing in common" claimed by Durkheim as a defining characteristic,is simply not true of African Primal Religion. The sharp contrast between them, which he asserts to be universal, is much less clear and well defined. Furthermore, the sacred in West African primal religion is **not** dissociated from utilitarian contexts. Durkheim, Emile, **The Elementary Forms of Religious Life**, (tr Swain, Joseph W), New York: Free Press, 1965 (originally 1912) pp 52-56. To some extent we may see black Pentecostalism in the way in which Durkheim partly perceived all religion: as a desire for or striving of the collective consciousness towards a perfect society; an ideal world; "a dream with which men have lightened their suffering". Ibid, pp 464 ff.

6. Raboteau, pp 11,12. Ali Mazrue notes that in Africa, it is not only man who is made in the image of God but the whole world is a kind of biography of the Diety. Pharoah Akenaton believed in a single Diety and he predated both Moses and Mohammed.

7. Ibid, pp 7-16, 33, 34,275-278; Wilmore, pp 8,20-25; Washington, pp 28,29.

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See a remarkable article by Michael and Aubine Kirtley which describes spirit possession, power and healing during the Dipri Festival in Ivory Coast. Kirtley, Michael and Aubine, 'The Ivory Coast - African Success Story' in **National Geographic**, Vol 162, No.1, July 1982, pp 94-125 but especially pp 118,119.
The Egyptian Ka, the Prana of Hinduism and the T'Chi of the Chinese are comparable concepts of a life force which is deficient in the case of illness and can be restored by contact with a source outside of the individual. Similarly, Franz Anton Mesmer conceived of healing being brought about by the alignment or harmonization of the individual life force with that of the universal. Similar ideas are found in the work of Jung and of the nursing profession in the United States which is practising therapeutic touch.

10.A term used throughout the South to refer to the psychological adjustment of the new slave to his of her life of servitude. See Naipaul, V S, 'The Religion of the Past' in **The Independent Magazine**, 24th September, 1988, p 48.

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25. MacRobert, pp 17,21, 31-34.

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37. Raboteau, p 74.

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CHAPTER TWO

RELIGION AND THE RISE OF PENTECOSTALISM IN JAMAICA

"The church in the colonies is the white people's church, the foreigner's church. She does not call the native to God's ways but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor. And as we know, in this matter many are called but few chosen.
- Frantz Fenton, **The Wretched of the Earth**

"...the African, imported from the area of his great tradition', went about establishing himself in a new environment, using the available tools and memories of his traditional heritage to set going something new, something Caribbean, but something nevertheless recognizably African."
- Caribbean Historian and Poet, Edward Kamau Braithwaite.

"We have this church in the village. We have this church. The walls make out of mud, the roof covered with carrat leaves: a simple hut with no steeple or cross or acolytes or white priests or latin ceremonies. But is our own. Black people own it. Government ain't spent one cent helping us to build it or to put bench in it or anything; the bell that we ring when we call to the Spirit is our money that pay for it. So we have this church.
We have this church where we gather to sing hymns and ring the bell and shout hallelujah and speak in tongues when the Spirit come; and we carry the Word to the down trodden and the forgotten and the lame and the beaten, and we touch black people soul."
- Earl Lovelace, **The Wine of Astonishment**

In order to understand how and why Pentecostalism has developed in Jamaica since it was transplanted there shortly after the Azusa revival, requires some awareness of the interplay of religious forces which have been such profound influences on the black inhabitants of the Island.

Jamaica was 'discovered' by Christopher Columbus on the 3rd May 1494, colonised by his son Diego and brought under Spanish rule, and consequently Roman Catholic influence, in 1509. In a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus wrote:

> So may it please God that Your Highnesses send here...Christian Catholics...that it should be for the enhancement and glory of the Christian religion, nor should anyone who is not a good Christian come to these parts.1

The eight "good Christian" families who divided the island between them had the original inhabitants - the peace-loving Arawak Amerindians - assigned to work on their farms and ranches, and succeeded by means of war, murder, torture, forced labour and disease, in exterminating them. They even hanged them thirteen at a time "in honour of the thirteen Apostles"! To replace the labour force, Negroes were imported from West Africa, particularly from the Gold Coast (Ghana). Most commonly these slaves were from among the Asanti (Ashanti), Fanti, Ewe, Fon, Yoruba and Igbo (Ibo) peoples.2

a. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

In 1654 Cromwell sent a naval expedition to occupy the island, and the following year the Spanish were evicted. With the expedition, travelled seven Church of England Chaplains with instructions, drawn up by John Milton, for the division of the island into parishes which in 1681 were to become the fifteen civil and ecclesiastical units of administration.3

Responding to reports of immorality and irreligion on the Island, in 1661 Charles II instructed Edmund D'Oyley, Governor of Jamaica:

> ...to discourage vice and debauchery and to encourage ministers, that Christianity and the Protestant religion according to the Church of England, might have due reverence and exercise.[4]

Beginning in 1664, large numbers of slaves were imported by the British. Many died in appalling conditions on board the slave ships. Of the estimated nine or ten million Negro slaves transported to the New World, some 748,000 were brought to Jamaica.[5] There was however, no attempt to introduce Christianity to the slave population until almost a century and a half after the establishment of British rule. Concerning conditions on the island, Alfred Caldecott wrote:

> The only share of the slaves in religious (i.e.Christian) institutions was the suspension of all field-work on Sundays...and at the Festivals of Easter and Christmas certain holidays were compulsory. For the slaves this came practically to mean that they had Sunday for the cultivation of their own private grounds, and for holding their markets, as well as for such festivities as were not interfered with.[6]

Although the Church of England had little interest in spreading Christianity among the slaves, the relief from work granted to slaves on Sundays gave the black community some freedom of association, and the time and opportunity to practise their own West African and syncretistic forms of religion and occultism (Obeah and Myalism).

The 1696 Slave Code of Jamaica had stated that:

> All masters, mistresses, owners and employers are to endeavour as much as possible the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion; to facilitate their conversion, and to do their utmost to fit them for baptism, and as soon as convenient cause all such to be baptized as they are made sensible of a Diety and the Christian faith.7

However, slaveholders generally had no interest in the spiritual welfare or conversion of their labour force and were notorious for their irreligious and unchristian attitudes. The Rector of Port Royal considered that there was not "a more ungodly people on the face of the earth" than his parishioners,8 and the rector of St. Annes describing the situation at the close of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th spoke of:

> Empty churches, the unhallowed burial of the dead [i.e. dead Negroes] in fields and gardens, the criminal delay of baptism - even after permission was given - the discouragement of marriage, and the profanation of the Sabbath, are models which the slaves can hardly be expected to improve. Fraught with pernicious consequenses to the whole community, it is in vain that the clergy from eight and forty pulpits fearlessly denounce the wrath of heaven, and the loss of men, while none attend to hear them; for it cannot be expected that the heathen, or the neophyte, will approach an alter which seems despised, or neglected, by the presumed superiority and higher attainments of his temporal master.9

However the majority of the Anglican clergy were apparently little better than their parishoners, especially from the late 17th to the mid 18th Century. Leslie in his **History of Jamaica**, written in 1740 states:

> ...it is surprising that such worthless and abandoned men should be sent to such a place as this. The clergy here are of a character so vile, that I do not care to mention it; for except a few, they are generally the most finished of our debauchers.10

"The Church in the West Indies", as Osbourne and Johnston have observed, "tended to get the dregs of the Church in England" and although some were well educated and godly, others, in the words of Edward Long, writing in 1774, "have been detestable for their addiction to lewdness, drinking, gambling and iniquity" which fitted them better "to be retailers of salt fish, or boatswains of privateers than ministers of the gospel."11

The planters generally opposed the teaching of Christianity to slaves, attributing to it the sporadic outbreaks of rebellion.12 Most Anglican clergy cared little or nothing for the spiritual or material welfare of black people and the few who did became outcasts of white society and were persecuted by the slaveowners. Caldecott writes:

> For a century and a half the doors of the Established churches were closed against the hundreds of thousands of heathens by whose physical labour the industrial structure was upheld... It was not only public worship but the beneficient institutions of the church which were withheld from the slaves, especially Baptism and preparation therefore; Marriage; and preparation for Death and Burial in the hope of the Christian creed.13

In 1797 the House of Commons passed a resolution requiring rectors to set aside a time on Sunday for the religious instruction of slaves, and in 1808 (the year in which the slave trade was officially abolished) the Bishop of London recommended that Sunday Schools be set up, but it was not until 1815 that the Legislature of Jamaica formally recognised the right of slaves to receive instruction.14 This action was not primarily motivated by a desire for the

wellbeing of blacks but was rather a reaction to the "dark and dangerous fanaticism of the Methodists, Moravians, and Baptists."[15] As a result, money was made available for curates to be attached to each parish to provide religious instruction for the slaves. When it did take place, religious instruction tended to exacerbate acculturation and to conflict with the spiritual and supernatural perceptions of the black community. The majority of slaveholders however, ensured that no such instruction took place on their plantations.[16] Nevertheless, many slaves did receive baptism as a result of this provision, probably because Negroes believed that baptism was a protection against Obeah (witchcraft), the charge had been reduced from three pounds to two shillings and sixpence, and because the Anglican ministers received a fee for each slave they baptised and registered as a member of the church. One rector baptised and registered five thousand of the twenty-four thousand Negroes in his parish in the space of six months![17]

With the exception of a small group of evangelicals in the Church Missionary Society who worked among the slaves from the 1820s until the 1840s, most of the Church of England clergy continued vigorously to support the slavery system and the interests of the plantation owners.[18]

In 1824 Jamaica became a diocese. Prior to this, the Anglican clergy had been largely controlled - hired and

fired – by the plantocracy. Now the Governor of Jamaica, the Duke of Manchester, announced:

> ...that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint a Bishop for this island to whom is to be entrusted the control of the clergy of the Church of England within his diocese, and the duty of reporting upon the state of the Ecclesiastical Establishment particularly as it relates to the slave population, and upon the best means of diffusing the benefits of religious instruction to that part of the Community.19

Fees for the baptism, marriage and burial of slaves were abolished, slave marriages were recognised and registered, and the services of the clergy were made available to all classes, both free and bond. Sunday markets were abolished and slaves were granted a weekday for the cultivation of their food, thus enabling them to keep Sunday as a day for religious practices.20 Caldecott writes that:

> Within a very few years thirteen new churches were built in Jamaica, the clergy increased from about thirty to forty-five, and thirty-two catechists and school masters were at work, while religious instruction was in operation on 280 estates.21

Although large numbers of slaves were baptised, this was often a mere formality and few received religious instruction. It was not until after emancipation that the 'white man's church' opened its doors to the black population, but even then it remained primarily the church of the colonial ruling class. Although some of the socially ambitious coloureds joined, black people were generally not attracted to the dull services led in the main by clergy who cared little or nothing for their wellbeing.22

b. THE NON-CONFORMISTS

With a few exceptions, most of the Anglicans were unconcerned for the spiritual and material welfare of the slaves and did little or nothing to propagate Christianity among them for the first 150 years. However, three bodies were active in evangelising among the black populace from about the middle of the 18th century. These were the Moravians from Germany, the Methodists from England, and the Baptists from the United States and Britain. Although missions began in the mid and late 18th century there was little effective evangelism until after 1810. This reached a peak in the late 1820's and went into decline after 1845.[23]

The Moravians began work in Jamaica's St Elizabeth parish in 1754 under the patronage of two absentee plantation owning families. The missionaries were given the estate of New Carmel on the condition that they would work among the slaves on the four other estates owned by these families. During the following half century they concentrated on the slave population in four parishes, established five preaching stations,taught and visited the sick on the estates to which they had access and baptised some one thousand persons. By the mid 1830's they had around 2,200 members but this growth since the early 1800s was largely the work of a single African Moravian slave - George Lewis - who had been converted while in Virginia. A major reason

for the Moravian's lack of impact on the slave community was the fact that they derived part of their support from the ownership of slaves and failed like their founder, Count Nikolaus Von Zinzendorf, to take an unequivocal sttand against slavery. Whether or not they believed that since the Negroes were descended from Ham, slavery was the divinely instituted punishment meeted out to them for the sins of their ancestor is uncertain [24] but in a farewell letter to converts in St. Thomas, Zinzendorf asks the Negros for several assuraces which include:

> ...that you might be faithful to your masters and [their] wives and ... do all your work with love and dexterity as if it was your own... for the Lord has made everything himself: king, master, servant and slave. As long as we are in the world, everyone has to stay in the place where God has put him... God punished the first Negroes and all their offspring, that they should be slaves, and the salvation of the soul does not make you free according to the body, but takes away all bad thoughts, malice, laziness and unfaithfulness, and all that makes you vexed to be slaves...[25]

The Methodists arrived in 1789 in the form of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and were subjected to constant persecution, imprisonment and even stoning in spite of the fact that they were the most conservative of the non-conformists and were at pains to attract the white planters and avoid doing anything which might be construed as a criticism of slavery. These early missionaries stressed the duty of slaves to obey their masters. Nevertheless the conversion of a house into a chapel engendered a newspaper controversy which culminated in a riot. Subsequently, preaching after dark was forbidden,

and as this was the only time that slaves were free to attend, it effectively excluded them from any form of public worship. Sunday was the only time the slaves were granted to tend to the growing of their own food.

Caldecott reckons that the total number of Methodists at the close of the 18th Century was about 600, but this is probably a gross over estimate. The actual number may have been a third of this, and these were mainly coloured people and free Negroes.[26]

Because of the difficulty experienced by white missionarys in gaining access to the estates, both the Methodists and the Baptists used 'class leaders' - chosen from among the slave community - to visit the sick, hold prayer meetings and oversee members of their classes. This practice encouraged the development of black religious leaders, or the emergence of existing black 'magicians' (myalmen) into Methodist respectability. Many of these were to split from their parent bodies to found independent Afro-Christian or syncretistic sects.[27]

At the end of 1823, the Methodists claimed nine-thousand members. One half of the four-thousand members in Kingston were slaves and fewer than sixty were white. The remainder were coloureds and free Negroes.[28] By 1831 they had grown to eleven circuits and by the mid 30's had around 12,800 members and had become the most favoured sect among the

coloured people in the towns. They also sought to attract the blacks on the estates but maintained a strict caste segregation in their chapels.[29]

With growth came conflict. The coloured caste objected to their inferior status and the movement split into two streams. One Jamaican nationalist, and the other a British mission. Both went into decline. The former, because it lacked financial support from abroad, and the latter, because it was no longer identified as the particular denomination of the coloured people.[30] During 1845, a thousand Jamaicans left the Methodist Church.[31]

Baptist missions began in 1783 with the arrival of the manumitted slave from Georgia, Rev. George Liele (Lisle), who,with four other black Americans, established a congregation in Kingston in 1784. "Though suppported by no church or denominational agency," writes Holmes, "he became the first Protestant missionary to go out from America to establish a foreign mission." Preaching his first sermon on Romans 10:1: "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer for Israel is that they might be saved," Liele drew a parallel between the oppression of Israel in Egypt with the enslavement of black people in Jamaica. He and his colleagues were accused of sedition, suffered constant harassment by the authorities and were often imprisoned without just cause. Nevertheless, by 1791 Liele's congregation - named the Ethiopian Baptist Church - had

grown to 350 or 450 members, all of whom were Negroes and most of whom were slaves. Two years later, with some financial help from the Baptists in England, the "first dissenting chapel" in Jamaica was opened. This was the beginning of the indigenous Native Baptist movement which was soon to diverge from the more European orthodoxy of Liele to become a distinctively African form of Christianity.[32]

When the English Baptists began mission work on the island in February 1814, at the request of Liele's colleague, the black American preacher, Moses Baker, they were able to build on the work already done by these black missionaries from the United States. The Native Baptists were by this time some eight thousand strong. Baker and other black ministers had experienced schisms in their congregations as a result of adopting the English Wesleyan 'class leader system'. The class leaders became more than simply the teachers of new converts. They became the leaders of separatist groups which further developed the Afro-Christian synthesis.[33] However, by this time Baptist Christianity had already developed a syncretistic form and the introduction - by the British missionaries - of the practice of issuing tickets to each person in a congregation exacerbated this. The tickets, which were only issued by white missionaries and were renewed quarterly, indicated whether the holder was an "enquirer" a "candidate" or a "member" and were used as a means of

controlling access to communion, simplifying the collection of money, and limiting the potentially divisive power of the black class leaders. However the issue of tickets carried the Baptist movement unwittingly towards further Afro-Christian synthesis because the ticket was seen as a 'fetish' - a symbol or emblem of god - with magical powers, and was the Christian equivalent of those carried by many West Africans.[34]

The rapid growth of the white-led Baptist congregations was to a great extent the result of their toleration of African religious practices and the ease with which they could be syncretised with Baptist belief and practice. Dreams, which were important in African folk religion also became a precondition - applied by black Baptist class leaders - for a candidate to receive baptism. A lack of Baptist chapels with baptistries, the public nature of the sacrament which attracted large crowds, and the climate, all contributed to the common practice of baptising in the ocean. Such ablutions in 'living' water mirrored West African practices and Negroes believed it to have a potency far greater than that taught by white missionaries. Divination by means of spirit possession (Myalism) was used as an antidote to bad magic (Obeah) as the world view of African folk belief re-emerged in the Caribbean in a Baptist Christian guise. By 1831 the Baptists had ten thousand members, seventeen thousand "enquirers" and had built twenty-four chapels. Six years later, this had grown to sixteen thousand members

and a further sixteen thousand enquirers. This growth was to continue until the early 1840's.

From the 1830's both the planters and other missionaries criticised the Baptists for using the class leader system which placed so much power in the hands of black leaders, selling tickets for veneration as a charm, and allowing the black class leaders to insist that converts have special dreams and be possessed by the Spirit before water baptism - which had now taken on a significance which white missionaries never intended - was administered. The ensuing controversy resulted in three Baptist ministers abolishing the ticket-and-leader system for their congregations and withdrawing from the Jamaica Baptist Association in 1841. Two years later, the Association severed its connection with the British Baptists and became a Jamaican church rather than a British overseas mission.

Following emancipation in 1834, William Knibb and other Baptist ministers established free villages to help ex-slaves avoid being exploited by unscrupulous planters. Like the other denominations, it went into decline after 1845 but remained influential in its opposition to the white planter caste.[35]

The Presbyterians were also active from 1823, when the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS) sent three missionaries to Jamaica. They, like their predecessors of other

denominations, met with considerable hostility and persecution. In 1819, the Church of Scotland began work in Kingston, the work of the SMS was taken over by the United Presbyterian Church which was formed in 1847, and by 1865 had twenty six congregations with over five thousand members and twenty-nine day schools with 2,326 students. Four years later a policy began of training native ministry and withdrawing European missionaries.[36]

Generally, the attitude of the white population was hostile to missionary activity among the slaves. The non-conformists were perceived not only as the friends of the slave, but also as possible agitators for the overthrow and abolition of the slavery system. Not surprisingly, non-conformist Christianity had little appeal for the whites but was embraced by many blacks and coloureds.[37]

From the beginning of the 19th century until emancipation in 1833, there was mounting pressure in Britain for abolition, and the Free Church missionaries in Jamaica were seen as allied with the abolitionists against the planters who in turn became increasingly intransigent and hostile.[38]

They had good reason to oppose evangelical Christianity, for as Phillip D. Curtin points out:

> Against the background of slavery, the doctrine of Christianity had revolutionary implications. The missionaries might not have pointed this out to the slaves but they were convinced themselves that Christianity and slavery were incompatible.[39]

Thus the missionary, though a member of the white caste,

was often regarded by other whites as a traitor to white society. And although he was an ally of the slaves, he was never completely accepted by them.

Repeatedly, the slave owning caste of Jamaica sought to hinder or completely destroy Free Church missions to slaves. In 1802 the Jamaica Assembly had called the attention of non-conformist missionaries to the necessity of taking out licenses, and in the same year it passed an Act forbidding "ill-disposed, illiterate and ignorant enthusiasts" to preach to "meetings of negroes and persons of colour, chiefly slaves, unlawfully assembled." And those who "under pretence of being a minister of religion, presume to preach or teach in any meeting or assembly of negroes or of people of colour... shall be deemed and taken to be a rogue and vagabond." Fortunately, the Act did not receive royal approval.[40] However, in 1807, the year in which the Act abolishing the slave trade was passed, the Common Council of Kingston legislated against Free Church missionaries conducting services after sunset or before sunrise, and against persons lending their houses for worship:

> ...whereas nothing can tend more to bring true devotion, and the practice of religion, into disrepute, than the pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding the word of God as contained in the Holy Scriptures, by uneducated, illiterate and ignorant persons, and false enthusiasts: And whereas the practice of such pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding the Holy Scriptures, by such description of person, to large numbers of persons of colour, and negroes of free condition, and slaves, assembled together in houses, negro-houses, huts and

> yards thereunto appertaining...hath increased to an alarming degree... to the great detriment of slaves who are induced, by diverse artifices and pretences of the said pretended preachers to attend the said irregular assemblies whereby such slaves are continually kept and detained from their owners' necessary business and employ, and in some cases the minds of slaves have been so operated upon, and affected, by the fanaticism of the aforesaid description of persons, as to become actually deranged.41

The passing of this legislation was virtually a repeat of the disallowed 1802 Act. Penalties of fine and imprisonment were stipulated for white ministers who preached to coloureds or blacks without a licence or infringed any of the other regulations; and imprisonment, hard labour and whipping were the punishments to be meted out to slaves. The Assembly also passed legislation enabling them to fine proprietors who allowed non-conformists to instruct slaves, and missionaries who admitted them to their chapels or houses. Following an appeal to the Crown by the Methodists, this legislation was annulled in 1809.42

In 1815 the Jamaica Assembly passed an Act recognising the right of slaves to receive religious instruction from the Church of England as "the means of diffusing the light of genuine Christianity" among the slaves as opposed to that of the Free Churches which displayed syncretistic elements. The Assembly desired the propagation of a form of Christianity,

> divested of the dark and dangerous fanaticism of the Methodists which has been attempted to be propagated, and which, grafted on the African superstitions and

> working on the uninstructed and ardent temperament of the Negro has produced the most pernicious consequences to individuals and is pregnant with imminent dangers to the community.[43]

The persecution of the dissenting denominations was renewed in 1826 with the revision of the Code of the Slave Laws which once again prohibited the holding of services after sunset and before sunrise. As this legislation only applied to "sectarian Ministers or other teachers", it was primarily the Moravians, Methodists and Baptists who suffered once again.[44]

c. REBELLION AND ABOLITION

Although the process of acculturation was less pronounced in Jamaica than it was in the United States, the regime under which slaves lived was generally more harsh and oppressive. This was probably a result of the absenteeism of many estate-owners who left the running of their plantations to agents, and were solely interested in profits irrespective of the cost in terms of human suffering and death. Phillip Mason points out that:

> It was generally accepted in the Caribbean islands that it did not pay to treat slaves kindly or breed from them; the best policy was to 'work the slaves out and trust for more supplies from Africa.' One agent boasted that he had 'made my employees 20,30,or 40 more hogsheads of sugar per year than any of my predecessors ever did; and though I have killed thirty or forty Negroes per year more, yet the produce has been more than adequate to that loss'.[45]

Because of the comparatively small ratio of whites to blacks in Jamaica, the whites tended to feel less secure than in the Southern States and consequently were harsher

in putting down any sign of rebellion. The slave response to this was less submissive than in the South, with more frequent insurrections and more defiant and overtly resentful songs. A greater proportion of slaves were freed in Jamaica than in the South, and this led to the undermining of the fatalistic acceptance of slavery and the increased manifestation of resentment and revolt.[46]

Many of those who resisted the slave system and took up arms to attack it, trusted in African forms of 'magic' and poisoning (Obeah) to protect themselves and harm their enemies. The Obeah-man (sorcerer), though feared by the slave community, was often called upon to administer a deadly oath of secrecy or to mix a potion to render the rebels immune to the weapons of the slave holders.[47]

The early white missionaries, with a few notable exceptions, generally supported the social status quo and concentrated their efforts on liberating their charges from the bondage of sin rather than the oppression of slavery. By the last decade of the 18th century however, the campaign in Britain against the slave trade and slavery was gathering momentum, and by the beginning of the 19th century had impelled the non-conformists away from their support of slavery to one of neutrality. Some, like William Knibb, were outspoken in their condemnation of slavery, but these were exceptions among the majority of missionaries in Jamaica who tended to be more reactionary

than their fellows in Britain. Not until the early 1830s did the Baptists take an unequivocal stance against the system of slavery.[48]

During the early 19th century, new forms of leadership among the slaves, based on church government, led to black congregations becoming increasingly involved in rebellion. The leaders of the 1831 slave uprising in Cornwall, Jamaica, known as the Baptist War, were strongly supported by church people who may well have been inspired by reports from America of the African Methodist involvement in the Denmark Vesey revolt of 1822.

The roots of the Cornwall revolt lie in the debates on emancipation which were taking place in England and which were reported in the Jamaican press. Rumours and speculation were rife among the slaves and it was commonly believed either that the crown had granted them freedom but the slaveholders were keeping it from them or, that the Baptist minister, Thomas Burchell was returning to Jamaica with the "free paper". One of Burchell's congregation, the deacon Sam "Daddy" Sharp, though not believing the rumours, used his Baptist connections to organise a strike which was to follow the 1831 Christmas holiday. The protest movement was joined by those who were more militant and violent than Sharp, and on the evening of December 28th several estates were set ablaze. The army was brought in and the revolt quickly suppressed.[49]

Following the uprising, the 'Report of a Committee of the House of Assembly' in 1832 condemned:

> ...the preaching and teaching of the religious sects called Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists and Moravians (but more particularly the sect termed Baptists) which had the effect of producing in the minds of slaves a belief that they could not serve both a spiritual and a temporal master; thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual, master.[50]

The white backlash to the rebellion left 700 slaves dead, 500 of whom - including Sharp - had been executed. That the missionaries had "earnestly cautioned" their flocks "to go quietly and peaceably to work after their holidays ceased, and wait patiently the time when the Lord, in his providence, should bring about a change in their condition", did little to deflect the hostility of the planter caste. As a reaction to the uprising and the assumption that Free Church missionaries were somehow implicated, the Colonial Church Union was formed at the St.Ann's Bay rectory in January 1832. The stated aims of the Union were to defend, by constitutional means, the interests of the Colony, expose the falsehoods of the Anti-Slavery Society and support the established (i.e. the Anglican) Church. Its real purpose - to destroy or incapacitate Free Church missions - was revealed in the burning down of non-conformist chapels, the assault and illegal imprisonment of missionaries and the theft or destruction of their property. At least one of the incendiaries was an Anglican clergyman - the rector of

Hanover parish.[51]

Following the rebellion, a deputation of three Baptists and two Methodists arrived in England from Jamaica to plead the cause of abolition among the evangelicals, thus reinforcing the influence of Wilberforce and Buxton One of their number, William Knibb, spoke to the Baptist Missionary Society in June 1832 and ended with these words:

> ...the African and Creole slave will never again enjoy the blessings of religious instruction, or hear the benefits of that gospel which Christ has commanded to be preached among all nations, and which He has so eminently blessed in Jamaica, unless slavery be overthrown. I now stand forward as the unflinching and undaunted advocate of immediate emancipation.[52]

Knibb's speech had a mixed reception, some supported abolition while others insisted that slavery was a political rather than a religious issue. Nevertheless Knibb's speech strengthened anti-slavery opinion and on the 28th August, 1833 the Emancipation Act was passed. The following year the Act took effect in Jamaica. Caldecott writes that:

> Emancipation was regarded by the free slaves themselves as a religious boon to be received with pious gratitude and celebrated with religious rites. The last hours of slavery and the first hours of freedom were spent in churches and chapels. And the new centres around which the emancipated rallied were... the missionaries, pastors, deacons and class-leaders of Christian congregations.[53]

The Emancipation Act also allowed for a period of "apprenticeship" to follow the granting of freedom. Ideally this time (seven to twelve years) would prepare the ex-slaves for life in a free society. In practice, it gave

the planters time to adjust to the loss of free labour. The Baptists vigorously opposed the apprenticeship system and Knibb and Phillippo exposed the abuses taking place.[54] In the first year of apprenticeship, Phillippo reported:

> 60,000 apprentices received in the aggregate one quarter of a million lashes, and 50,000 other punishments by the tread wheel, the chain gang and other modes of legalised torture.[55]

Slavery was only grudgingly relinquished by the plantation owners.

The Baptists in Kingston placed a chain, a whip and an iron collar in a coffin and buried it under a memorial stone bearing the likenesses of Wilberforce, Sharp, Sturge and Knibb, and the text: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." As the instruments of their oppression were lowered into the grave, they sang:

> Now, slavery we lay thy vile form in the dust,
> And buried forever, there let it remain.
> And rotted, and covered with infamy's rust,
> Be every man whip, and fetter, and chain.[56]

Apprenticeship was terminated on the 1st August 1838.

Emancipation resulted in a substantial increase for all the mission churches which doubled or trebled their membership from among the ex-slave community. This trend continued until about 1845 when all the denominations went into decline.

After emancipation, the Jamaican government did little to educate or provide for the needs of the black community,

and most of the ex-slave owners sought to keep their former slaves as nearly as possible in the same state as before. The European missionaries who already had some rapport with the Negroes, stepped into the breach by becoming involved in the social and economic problems of ex-slaves. As many blacks - who preferred freedom to economic security - left the sugar estates for small-holdings in outlying regions, they moved away from the influence of the churches. The Anglicans did nothing about this; the Methodists did little; the Moravians bought two estates and tried to establish Moravian villages on them. The villages were established but attempts to make them Moravian failed. The Baptists, and to a lesser extent the Presbyterians, formed numerous villages as refugees for the destitute, places of escape from overcrowded estates and a means of providing churches and schools. Knibb alone saw this migration as a potential move away from the sugar-based export economy to one of at least partial self sufficiency.57

Welcome and beneficial as this help was, the missionaries also sought - albeit often unwittingly - to force acculturation in religious areas where African survivals were most pronounced and tenacious. They condemned Negro 'Christian' festivals, sabbath breaking, drumming, dancing, concubinage and Jamaican marriage customs. From this time, the reliance of the Christian Negroes upon the white missionaries steadily decreased. The Baptists remained the most influential because of their programmes of social and

political action on behalf of the ex-slaves, their toleration of religious Africanisms and their extensive use of black leaders. But none of the missions could compete with the indigenous black-led syncretistic sects and cults which were reinterpreting Christianity in terms of a black world view. By 1846 the Native Baptist congregations in the parish of Vere were larger than the total of all the European churches, and in Kingston in 1860 they accounted for half the churchgoers. Black Christians rejected white leadership which attacked their customs and morals, and black class-leaders left the missionary churches to establish their own congregations. For many black people, personhood and dignity - the transition from being nobody to being somebody - was linked to being a Christian and a member of the Church. But after 1945 many also wanted a more authentic 'black' identity and greater involvement with the spiritual world. The mission churches were simply too European; too white; too patronising.[58]

Even those black Jamaicans who were full or communicant members of the historic denominations [59] remained influenced by their African religious heritage. Jamaican author, Leonard Barrett, writing of his mother, says:

> Sunday morning meant going to church to sing English hymns, but Monday through Saturday meant living in the tightly-knit Jamaican community with its African lore, beliefs, and practices. To her, there was no contradiction in this way of life, so it was from my mother's behaviour that I became aware quite early that two cultural traditions were operating in our lives.[60]

This bi-cultural perspective and synthesis was and is built into the very warp and woof of Jamaican life. Barrett's mother and many like her were practising Christians yet they continued to follow many of the African practices and retained many of the African beliefs of their forefathers.

d. SYNCRETISTIC SECTS AND CULTS

Negroes, brought as slaves to Jamaica were generally less acculturated and were able to retain more 'Africanisms' than there counterparts who were taken to the United States. The average plantation in Jamaica at the end of the 18th century had around 180 slaves compared with less than thirteen on the average plantation in Virginia or Maryland. In North America, blacks were in a minority, while in the Caribbean they were the majority. In 1830 there were 324,000 black and mulatto people to 20,000 whites, and by 1890 this ratio had increased to 620,000 to 15,000. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, most of the slaves in Jamaica had been born in Africa, while the vast majority of slaves in the United States were native-born.[61] These demographic factors coupled with the tendency of the white planters in Jamaica not to force Europeanization further than was necessary for work on the plantations, resulted in a Creole culture being developed out of the bi-cultural synthesis which amalgamated West African - particularly Ashanti - and European elements. Slaves often adopted - or pretended to adopt - those European cultural patterns which aided them

in improving their lot. The planting caste, while generally accepting the music and dancing of the slaves, suppressed ceremonies which they believed to be connected with African religion or magic. They failed to recognise, however, that for the West African there is no clear distinction between the sacred and the profane. The spiritual is perceived as interacting with the material world, and music, drumming and dancing were all means of becoming involved with the supernatural world of gods, spirits and ghosts, and with the **force vitale.** They were also a non-verbal means of communicating in the present and transmitting the African religion and culture of the past.[62] The Spanish Caribbean poet Jorge Artel expressed something of this when he wrote:

> The drums at night
> are like a human cry.
> Quivering with music I've heard them moan
> when those men who carry
> emotion in their hands
> draw out of them the anguish of an obscure memory,
> of an intimate longing,
> where the soul, sweetly savage, keeps watch.[63]

The tones and rythms of the 'talking' drums of West Africa and Black America communicated with and controlled the spirits, and tapped the **force-vitale** expressed in the dance. While slaveholders usually interpreted dance as a sign of the contentment of their slaves, it was often rather a reaffirmation of black religion, black spirituality, black power and black defiance. In dance, as in song, the African diaspora expressed its joys and sorrows, and its intimacy with the **force-vitale.**

Among the slaves brought to Jamaica were African priests and medicine men (Myal-men). These powerful figures continued to function in their important role on the plantations where they interpreted the supernatural, comforted the sorrowing and expressed "the longing and disappointment and resentment of a stolen people."[64]

Jamaican scholar, Herbert G. DeLisser wrote:

> Both witches and wizards, priests and priestesses, were brought to Jamaica in the days of the slave trade, and the slaves recognised the distinction between the former and the latter. Even the masters saw that the two classes were not identical, and so they called the latter 'myal-men' and 'myal-women' - the people who cured those that the obeah-man had injured.[65]

These early Negro worshipping communities were far from Christian, but missionary enterprise soon gave many of them a Christian veneer. In some cases that veneer was very thin and African primal religion remained paramount. In others the beliefs of Africa were all but smothered although never completely eradicated.

From the earliest days of slavery in Jamaica - long before the first missionaries arrived - elements of West African primal religion had already been syncretised with Western Christianity. Before emancipation, the slaves were granted three days holiday each year for the celebration of Christmas. Part of the festivities among them included the John Canoe (from the Igbo 'Jonkonnu') dance. Curtin describes it:

> The chief performer wore a traditional head-dress in the form of a model boat looking something like a stylized Noah's Ark. With this contraption on his head and a wooden sword in his hand, he performed a dance through the streets of the town accompanied by a group of followers and musicians with 'goombay' drums, gourds filled with the seeds of the Indian shot plant, and other African rythmic instruments. Although the planters considered this harmless fun, and the missioneries objected mainly because of the rum-drinking involved, the John Canoe-dance was, in fact, very closely associated with the survivals of African religions and magic. The figures represented in the houseboat-headdress, the phraseology of the song, the instruments - all were very similar to those of the African cult groups that were otherwise driven underground.[66]

Such manifestations of West African religious forms were not limited to Christian festivities. African style drumming, singing with call and response, dancing and body movements were continually practised among the slave communities and survive to the present time, as do the practises of Obeah and Myalism. Obeah, from the Ashanti word "obayi" or the Kromanti "obboney" (devil) is primarily - but not exclusively - possession and devil (Ashanti: "Sasabonsam") empowered witchcraft or 'magic' used for evil purposes, while Myalism, named after the "myal" (probably from the Ewe, "maye le") dance which is performed in honour of minor deities or ancestors, is good magic, the antidote to sickness and sorcery. In a state of spirit possession the Myal-man can discover the evil influence (magic or poison) of the Obeah-man and then prescribe the magical or herbal remedy. In practice, the distinction between Obeah and Myal is often less than clear, with cult leaders operating as both Myal-men and Obeah-men (Ashanti: "Obayifo" or "Obi Okomfo") and Obeah-men helping rather

than harming people. Myal-men are particularly associated with the Cumina cult and may represent the survival of the legitimate African priest in Jamaica.[67] Driven underground by the slaveholders, African religion re-asserted itself in secret rites.

Other African retentions are evident in Negro funeral ceremonies both before and after emancipation. These usually lasted for nine nights and were performed to ensure that the duppy (ghost or shadow - from the Bube word "dupe") of the deceased would not remain to haunt the living. Such practices were based on the multiple soul concept which was brought from West Africa.[68]

The white missionaries sought to eradicate the "superstitions" of the black community and in so doing attacked - with little success - the theology of black folk religion. Particularly tenacious was belief in signs and omens, and such beliefs are still held by many in Jamaica. Dreams were interpreted according to well established rules and their contents were often considered to be portents of the opposite. For example, to dream of death was an omen that there was about to be a birth in the family and to dream of a wedding signified a funeral.[69]

Other survivals of African culture and primal religion, particularly that of the Ashanti, are to be found in Jamaican folk tales and proverbs.[70] It was in these

narratives - myths, legends and folk tales - riddles, songs, proverbs and other aphorisms that African theology was enshrined or codified. They were a means of preserving and transmitting knowledge, philosophy, origins, cosmology, values, attitudes, morals, ethics, sacred rituals, dogma, history and the wisdom of the ancestors. These oral methods ensured the maintenance of social conformity and cultural continuity in Africa, and in the New World elements of African cultural values, patterns of behaviour and religious beliefs continued to be passed on from generation to generation. Had West African primal religion and culture been mainly externalised in books, buildings and other artefacts, it would surely have been destroyed, but religion and culture were primarily internal - in the brain and the heart; in the memory and the emotions; in motor behaviour, dance, song and story.[71]

The syncretistic sects and cults, which grew in conditions of geographical, social and cultural isolation, were particularly attractive to the poor blacks of Jamaica both before and after emancipation. They were the religions of the powerless and the dispossessed who found themselves at the very bottom of the socio-economic pile. They were a display of religious independence in the face of colonial or white minority rule, discrimination and forced acculturation. And they were a symbolic manifestation of repressed rebellion against the white plantocracy.[72] Their lack of political and economic power was to some extent

compensated for by the spiritual power gained through cult or sect involvement. In the ancestral cults of Convince and Cumina (Kumina) the basic theology and liturgy of West African primal religion survived.

Convince (or Flenke), which is restricted to the two Eastern parishes of St.Thomas and Portland is currently in decline but displays something of the religious belief and practice which was common among black Jamaicans in the past. Cult members - called Bongo men - trace their origins back to the runaway slaves or Maroons who fought against the British forces until their independence was recognised in 1739. They believe that both the spiritual and the material, the dead and the living, exist in a single unified social structure and consequently interact and influence each other.73 In the words of Donald Hogg:

> Bongo Men... believe that spiritual power is morally neutral - that it can be put to both constructive and malevolant purposes by spirits who have it and by persons who can influence them... God and Christ, whom they consider too benevolent to worry about and too remote and other worldly to be of much practical value...merit little attention from them. Bongo Men focus their concern instead on lesser, more accessible spirits who take an immediate interest in material human affairs and have greater influence upon phenomenal events. They deal exclusively with ghosts...74

These ghosts are primarily those of long dead African ancestors, slaves, or Maroons who belonged to, or are believed to have belonged to, Convince while they were alive. Bongo Men offer these ghosts animal sacrifices, and in return receive protection, good fortune, necromantic

information and assistance in performing Obeah (magic).

The Bongo Men have "apprentices" or "grooms" who are also cult members, and a following of "well-wishers" who, although not cult members, participate in Convince ceremonies. Many of the latter are members of Christian sects or churches but apparently have little difficulty in reconciling their Convince involvement with their Christianity. In fact, they do not regard Convince as a religion.

Bongo Men hold annual sacrificial ceremonies and memorial services for deceased cult members. They also perform rites to pacify or thank ghosts, and utilise Obeah to solve clients' problems. The ceremonies include 'Christian' prayer meetings, the reading of Bible passages, hymn singing led by a young girl who "traces" (i.e.reads each line before it is sung), the singing of Bongo songs accompanied by hand clapping and the dancing of the Bongo Men. As he dances, the Bongo man becomes possessed or is "ridden" by one of his ghosts and responds by reciting a 'Christian' prayer and calling for hymns and psalms to be offered. This is followed by further possession and, during the annual ceremonies which involve animal sacrifices, this may continue for several days. Convince has been in decline since the 1950s, probably as a result of improved social and economic conditions, the opposition of many Christians, the rise of Pentecostalism, and the

growth of the politico-religious Ras Tafari cult.[75]

Like Convince, Cumina (or 'African' Cumina, from the Twi words "Akom": possession and "Ana": ancestor) probably originated among the Maroons. Cumina cultists venerate three classes of Zombies (spirits): sky gods who rank highest, earth bound gods, and ancestors. All three types of Zombies possess their followers and can be identified by their food preferences, drum rythms and style of dancing. Among the sky gods worshipped in Cumina is the African Yoruba diety, Shango (Sango) the god of thunder. The earth-bound gods include some with Old Testament names. Ancestral Zombies are specific to the various families, tribes or 'nations' which still bear some African names. These ancestral Zombies are the spirits of individuals who were drummers, Obeah-men or dancing Zombies while alive. The dancing Zombies being those who dance while possessed by a god. This spirit (Zombie) possession (sometimes called "Myal") is at the very heart of the cult and is brought about by drumming, counter-clockwise dancing, rhythmic motor behaviour and antiphonal singing - songs are "lined out" by a leader who sings each verse line by line, followed by the congregation. There is also a form of glossolalia called "country" - an African dialect taught to the devotee by the spirit which possesses him.

When special problems arise, private ceremonies are held by an Obeah-man who uses two drums to invoke the Zombies

during "workings" in which such things as water,blood, herbs, chicken feathers, oil, incense, eggshells and dead men's bones are used.76

Three-quarters of Cumena ceremonies involve the propitiation of dead ancestors, and all major ceremonies include the use of animal blood. During the memorial dances, cultists dance around and over the graves of their ancestors and perform rites at the graves of the recently deceased in order to ensure that their duppies (spirits, ghosts or shadows) do not wander about and menace the living. Other ceremonies are concerned with birth, betrothal and the working of Obeah.77

In addition to the ancestral cults of Convince and Cumina, there are also the revivalist cults of Revival Zion, Revival, and Pocomania (Pukkumina). These cults trace their origins to the religious revival which swept the Island in 1860-62. Encouraged by the evangelical revival which broke out in the United States in 1858 and later spread to Ireland and Great Britain, the white missionaries prayed for it to reach Jamaica. Late in 1860 the Moravians experienced the first stirrings of religious fervour which were to intensify and spread throughout the Island by the middle of 1861. However, what began as a religious revival in the Western Christian evangelical tradition - deep conviction of sin, prostration, weeping and repentance followed by ecstatic joy - soon transformed itself into a

proletarian revival of African religion, as trances, dreams, spirit possession, prophecying, dancing, flagellation, 'strange' sexual practises and Myalism were increasingly manifest.[78] The white-led mission churches condemned and dissociated themselves from the revival. Their congregations shrank as the Afro-Christian sects and cults grew.[79]

Even before the revival of 1860-62, the syncretistic Native Baptists were stronger than the European denominations. Although the pastor of the first black-led Baptist congregation, George Liele, had tried to keep the beliefs of his members 'orthodox', other black American ministers and the black class-leaders of the mission churches developed an Afro-Christian synthesis, and many of the latter broke away from their parent bodies to form new syncretistic sects and cults.

> By 1830 [writes Phillip Curtin] the doctrine and organisation of the Native Baptists had become a thoroughly integrated part of Negro culture - another religion competing with the Christianity of the European missionaries.[80]

The revival gave birth to or popularised a multitude of sects and cults which rapidly developed further Afro-Christian synthesis. The revivalist sects and cults of today are descended from the Myal people and the Native Baptists of the 18th and 19th centuries and the Afro-Christian cults which developed in the wake of the Great Revival.[81]

Revival Zionists believe in God the Father who is the creator and ruler of the universe, but believe Him to be transcendent and far removed from human affairs. On the other hand, the Holy Spirit is believed to attend their services and possess members. They also believe in many other spiritual beings: prophets and other Old Testament characters, apostles, evangelists, arch-angels, historical and cabalistic figures, Satan and revivalist leaders ("shepherds" and "shepherdesses"; "papis" and "mammis") of the past - all of whom may possess the devotees during a revivalist ceremony. Some believe that Jesus Christ comes to their meetings but never reveals His presence by possessing a member.

The most common Revival ceremony, known as "divine worship", takes place on Sunday evenings and one or two week nights. Simpson describes the main features of this type of meeting as consisting of:

> Singing (both collective and antiphonal), accompanied by drumming (and, in some cases, by rattles and tambourines), hand clapping, praying by the leader and individual prayers by members speaking simultaneously, Bible-reading, counter-clockwise 'spiritual' dancing around the front part of the church, preaching interspersed with hymn-singing, spirit possessions, and, on some occasions, public healing...82

Dreams, visions and prophecies play an important part in the lives of revivalists, and many revivalist leaders also practise glossolalia and use Obeah. The diagnosis of the causes of illnesses is accomplished by means of necromancy, dreams, and a study of the patient's symptoms. Healing,

the "putting on" or "taking off" of duppies (spirits, ghosts or shadows of the dead), and Myalism involves among other things:

> the laying on of hands, drinking consecrated water, prayer, Bible reading, singing, fasting, 'lecturing', giving moral support, bush teas, purity baths (consecrated water), bush baths (leaves), blood baths, anointing with oil, flag waving and sword swinging to drive away evil spirits, removing foreign objects that the practitioner himself has placed in a sore, pouring coconut milk over a patient's head...and using perfumes, incense, nutmegs, stones, and candles...flogging with a rod, charm wearing, repeating benedictions, ordering a duppy to leave, and performing special rituals which include drumming, tracing symbols on the ground, and the use of fire and water.
>
> The ritual paraphernalia of a revivalist church is concentrated on or near the alter (and)...usually include one or more Bibles, white candles, flags made of coloured cloth, wooden crosses, drums, jars of leaves, vases of flowers, glasses of consecrated water, a shepherd's crook, swords and machetes (wooden or steel), and, in some cases polished stones.[83]

Simpson, writing of the spirit possession of Revivalists states that they perceive it as satisfying a dual purpose:

> the desire of the individual to invite the Holy Spirit and other saints and spirits to use his body and to teach him; and the desire of the Holy Spirit, the prophets and disciples, and ancestors to return to the world by using individuals for their enjoyment and edification. The behavior of the person possessed varies with the spirit who possesses him, for the individual is endowed with the power of that particular spirit...
> In revival, the spirits are Christian, but they respond in a manner which is completely understandable to the members of 'Cumina' whose gods are non-Christian.[84]

Pocomania (or the Black Israelites), which is a syncretism of Cumina (Kumina) and Christianity, has a name derived from the Spanish "poco" meaning small and "mania": madness,

or the Ghanaian Twi word "Po" meaning to shake, and "cumina" which comes from the Twi word "akom", to be possessed, and "ana", an ancestor. Akom-ana was an ancestor possession cult of the Ashanti people. Pocomania is a variant of Revivalism and many of the spirits invoked are the same as those in Revival and Revival Zion. In addition they summon fallen angels and Lucifer and use rum and ganga (cannabis). As well as Pocomania's central experience of spirit possession by an angel or ancestor (myal) which takes place while the devotees dance ("trump") and hyperventilate, emphasis is also placed on drumming, forbidden books, dreaming, prophecy, glossolalia (the secret language of the spirits) and interpretation, healing, ritual bathing and baptism. Both good and evil spirits can be summoned depending on whether the objective is benign or malevolant. Pocomania was widespread among the Jamaican slaves and in rural villages as late as the 1950's but now has little influence. In 1843 there were around 4,000 known Pocomanians, some 0.3% of the population, but by 1960 there were only about 800, a mere 0.05%. However the actual numbers were probably much higher as a result of the unwillingness of Jamaicans to admit to involvement with syncretistic cults.[85]

It is of interest to note that just as water baptism is expected to precede baptism or possession by the Holy Spirit in the Pentecostal sects, water ceremonies preceded spirit possession among the river cultists of West Africa.

In Africa, spiritual power is often associated with water, particularly living water. The Ashanti for example revere the god of the river Tano. Revival Zionists and Pocomanians practice water baptism and during their meetings possession by the Holy Spirit and other spirits can only take place if there is water present to transmit them. River spirits may also be invoked for special assignments by both Cumina, Pocomania and Revival leaders, and healing is often associated with water, particularly flowing water.

Both the native Baptists, Revival Zionists and Pocomanians are utopian or millenarian and look forward to the destruction of the old order and the creation of a new world where they will be exalted.

The Jamaican ancestral and revivalist cults demonstrate their African antecedents in numerous ways. For example, their belief in the integration of the seen and unseen worlds; the perceived relationship between the spirit world and physical illness; their amoral concept of spiritual power; the practice of necromancy; belief in the divine revelation of remedies; animal sacrifices and the magical use of blood; the throwing of food to the gods; the worship of spirits and ancestral ghosts, and violent trance behaviour which is understood as spirit possession; rhythmic religious counter-clockwise dancing, African motor behaviour, drumming, the use of rattles, hand clapping,foot patting and antiphonal singing; a multiple soul concept;

elaborate burial rites and the propitiation of ghosts; the religious and magical use of poles, flags, stones, herbs (many with African names) water and charms. Many Jamaican healers are also adept at glossolalia by which means they purport to receive messages from angels and spirits.[86] Spirit possession, during which the devotee is taken over or ridden by a god, ghost or some other spirit being, is one of the most tenacious of practices brought from West Africa. It continues to be important in the ancestral and revivalist cults, among the Spiritual Baptists and in the Pentecostal sects where it is associated with glossolalia and the Holy Spirit is credited with the possession. As Harold Turner notes:

> The central religious experience of many Black peoples of the Caribbean lies in some form of spirit possession, whether in the more Christian tradition of the Pentecostalists or the more African forms of the syncretist and neo-primal movements.[87]

The black leitmotive which survived the middle passage to the United States were also carried to Jamaica as oral tradition. There they were manifest in forms that were even more obviously related to their West African origins. The sacred and profane - the seen and unseen worlds - were perceived as interacting with each other; spiritual power and spirit possession were sought and manifest in trances, dreams, prophecy, healing and exorcism; the sense of community was all pervasive; and the great symphony of black religion which had begun in Africa continued to be played as hands, feet and drums beat time; while "Sankeys" were sung in the antiphonal style, and bodies gyrated in

the choreographical patterns of Africa. To these ancient themes were added the insistent and ever repeated leitmotive orchestrated in the dark night of slavery - freedom, equality, black personhood, black dignity and hope for a better tomorrow. Although all of the syncretistic cults have gone into decline, as have most historic denominations, the Pentecostal sects are growing rapidly.[88]

e. THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT

It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the Pentecostal movement arrived in Jamaica. In 1907 the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana) established a missionary work on the island, however, this group was a Wesleyan-Holiness rather than a Pentecostal organisation.[89]. Ten years later the Cleveland based Pentecostal group of the same name embarked on mission work. Charles W. Conn, the Church of God (Cleveland) historian, gives the summer of 1917 as the date of his denomination's first involvement, although some contact was made seven years earlier. Oneness Pentecostalism spread to the Island in 1919 and the following year the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World were established there. Although exact dates are difficult to establish, the Pentecostal message appears to have been carried to Jamaica within four years of the revival at Seymour's Azusa Street Mission which began in 1906. Almost immediately, missionaries left for foreign fields, convinced that this outpouring of the Spirit was God's means of evangelising the world for the imminent Second

Advent of Christ. The majority travelled to Liberia, Palestine, India or other nations where they believed they would be able to miraculously preach the gospel in the native tongues of the inhabitants. Jamaica, we may presume, was less popular as the population was English speaking. The early arrival of the Pentecostal teaching was assured, however, by the considerable amount of communication with the United States. In fact, many of the constituents that went into the Pentecostal movement were already present in the syncretistic religions of Jamaica. Spirit possession, glossolalia, prophecy, dreams, simultaneous individual praying, repetitive chorus singing, call and response, testifying, dancing, percussive emphasis, polyrhythms, fasting, prayer for healing by the power of the Spirit, water baptism, Adventism and millenarianism all preceded the coming of Pentecostalism and, although there were some significant differences, it is evident that the Afro-Christian synthesis of Seymour's Azusa Mission which was attenuated and modified by white Pentecostals was to some extent replicated and perhaps even strengthened in Jamaican Pentecostalism.

The Pentecostals made little impact until after the Second World War. The syncretistic sects and cults already catered for those who were attracted to this type of worship, and the birth of the Pentecostal movement in the United States and its subsequent spread coincided with a dramatic improvement in the Jamaican economy and an

increase in denominational membership. From the last quarter of the 19th century to the first decade of the 20th, the small farmers of Jamaica produced a much greater percentage of output for both home and export markets. It was a time of optimism for poor blacks as their financial position improved. Coupled with this came a rapid growth in membership of the major denominations. During the past thirty-five years, however, Pentecostalism has become the fastest growing religious movement in the Caribbean.[90]

While the ancestral and revivalist cults and the historic denominations have generally been in decline since the war, the Pentecostal sects - both Trinitarian and 'Oneness' - have rapidly increased. Between 1943 and 1970 the number of Anglicans in the population fell from 28 to 15%, Baptists from 26 to 18%, Methodists from 9 to 6%, and Presbyterians/Congregationalists (United Church of Jamaica and Grand Caymen) from 9 to 5%. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, increased from 5 to 8%, the various Church of God groups (i.e.mainly trinitarian, second work, three-stage Pentecostals) from 3.5% to 17%, and the 'Pentecostal' groups (i.e. modalistic Oneness, Apostolic or Jesus' name Pentecostals) from 1.5% to 3%.[91] Thus from constituting a mere 4% of the population in 1943, the Pentecostal movement grew to 13% by 1960 and to 20% by 1970. The larger section of the movement which comprises the multiplicity of Church of God groups grew from a membership of 43,560 in 1943 to nearly 200,000 in 1960 and

almost 340,000 by 1970. At which time it had become the second largest religious movement in Jamaica.[92]

The statistics suggest that there is some relationship between the steady decline of the historic Protestant denominations which have contracted from 82% in 1943 to 63% in 1960 and 55% in 1970 while the Pentecostals have increased from 4% to 13% to 20% during the same period. Wedenoja, with some reservations, estimates that by 1990 Pentecostal membership should equal that of the denominations, and cites evidence which suggests that in some areas this has already happened.[93]

There is a close correlation in Jamaica between colour, socio-economic status and religious affiliation. White and light skinned Jamaicans are generally in the upper or middle strata and, if religious, attend one of the historic denominations.[94] In the past, the ancestral and revivalist cults and the Native Baptists attracted the poor black Jamaicans from the shanty towns and slums. Those involved in the cults were often simultaneously members of the historic denominations. The denominational affiliation provided prestige through identification with a powerful social institution, and access to certain 'right of passage' rituals which were considered potent. On the other hand, the indigenous cult provided personal involvement, community, excitement, spiritual power, a means of coping with grinding poverty and a channel for the

cathartic expression of the resentment and anger of an oppressed people. Through cult involvement the politically powerless, socially repressed, economically deprived and exploited could identify with and share in the power of the supernatural. Those who practised this religious dualism did not consider their cultic involvement analogous to Church membership and saw no inconsistency in their behaviour. However, the upper and middle classes despised and rejected what they considered to be the primitive Africanisms of the cultists. Pentecostalism, on the other hand, is more acceptable to the middle classes because it is considered to be less primitive and more Christian; less African and more European. However, like the cults, membership of Pentecostal congregations is primarily black and proletarian.[95]

The Pentecostals are usually from the bottom of the socio-economic pile and their faith generally reflects their political powerlessness. It is for the wealthy Anglicans, Methodists and Roman Catholics (the members of the "denominational churches") to rely on their education and involve themselves in the "godless" institutions of secular society. The Pentecostal experiences God's saving power, the Bible becomes the legitimisation for his life style and his task becomes basically that of changing society, not by involvement in secular institutions, but by bringing others to church so that God can save them and transform them and enpower them with the Holy Spirit.

Although Pentecostalism is egalitarian and the bishops, elders and ministers rule by permission of their congregations, there seems to be little evidence of it developing into a powerful force for social change in Jamaica. The Pentecostal sect is a fertile milieu for the development of leadership and creativity, but the proletarian members lack the power to project their vision onto the wider society, and tend to channel their abilities into politically ineffective activities which, while they transform their self image, do little to change their inferior social status.96

While Pentecostalism in Jamaica has been influenced by white missionaries from the United States and Britain, its phenomenal growth since the early 1950's has been largely under the leadership of indigenous ministers, many of whom were introduced to Pentecostalism while working in the United States. They, in common with many other immigrant groups in the United States, had to adjust to life in an urban environment amidst an alien and sometimes hostile society and dominant culture. For some, the American Pentecostal sect provided support and community in a lonely and anomic situation.97 Others were probably attracted by the syncretistic Afro-Christian elements - more evident in some sects than others - with which they could identify.

Upon their return to Jamaica (some as ordained ministers)

their wealth, experience and status aided them in establishing proletarian Pentecostal congregations. Indigenised Pentecostalism was attractive because, not only did it have the status of being a form of Protestant fundamentalist Christianity but it was also able to incorporate a West African world view. Prior to the growth of indigenised Pentecostalism the dual religious affiliation of many Jamaicans with both indigenous cult and 'foreign' denomination had emphasised the disjunction and tension between African and European culture. Jamaican Pentecostalism successfully integrated both. While proclaiming itself to be Riblical fundamentalism, it adopted, modified or transformed many of the values, beliefs and practices found in the ancestral and revival cults and in the world views and culture of the poor, of the new industrial working class and of the new emerging white-collar middle class. It was not a new religious phenomenon or a North American import. It was a syncretism in the same tradition as other Jamaican religions. Wedenoja asserts that:

> Pentecostalism's uniqueness and significance in Jamaican religious evolution is that it offers the appealing features of both denomination and cult; it is a successful syncretism of two opposing religious traditions in Jamaican culture. It has emerged as a religion which is neither foreign like the denominations nor indigenous like the Revival cults, but both indigenous and international. It is a religion for every man regardless of race or class, and it offers both respectable status and popular enthusiasm.[98]

Most of the Pentecostal sects in Jamaica are independent of white missionary control and are led by black Jamaicans.

While having much in common with North American Pentecostalism, it has developed its own identity in harmony with an Afro-Christian world view and in response to the needs of its people who are adapting to modernisation.

According to Wedenoja, the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Jamaica has been to a large extent a response to the economic, social, political and psychological changes brought about by modernisation. Pentecostalism has flourished since the 1950's which also saw the inception of a new socio-economic era in Jamaica. The war resulted in many poor black Jamaicans serving in the British forces or working in the United States. As a result, their awareness of the developed world was increased as were their aspirations, expectations and self confidence. The war also stimulated the transition from a rural agrarian peasant society to an urban industrial society. The social structure was changed as the new urban proletariat and white-collar middle class emerged. Labour unions developed and grew in response to the economic and social changes and these formed the bases for the national political parties.[99] "Communities", writes Wedenoja,

> were severely disrupted by modernisation due largely to the replacement of subsistence by wage labour: economic achievement replaced personal ties as a basis for prestige, individual effort replaced communal and family cooperative effort, and division of labour by skill replaced division by age, sex, and kinship. Economic cooperation was replaced by individual competitiveness which fostered increasing inequality and exchange based on profit rather than

> sharing. Individual advancement in wealth and prestige undermined traditional patterns of authority in the family and community and migration to urban areas disturbed kin-based relationships. While many saw economic progress in these changes, they also perceive increasing conflict over goods and resources, a challenge to traditional norms, greater personal insecurity and, in general, a rather anomic condition.[100]

For the poor, the transition from subsistence agrarian to wage labourer resulted in individualism, deferred gratification, aquisitiveness, assertiveness and guilt displacing collectivism, hedonism, generosity, cooperation and shame. Wedenoja concludes:

> that economic change is the primary independent variable responsible for the growth of Pentecostalism, although intervening variables such as changes in social structure, personality and values appear to be the direct results of economic change and the proximal causes for religious change.[101]

Furthermore, there is also an apparent feed-back loop whereby Pentecostalism tends to reinforce modernising trends.[102]

On the face of it, Wedenoja seems to overstate the social and psychological effect of economic modernisation and its causal relationship to the growth of Pentecostalism. However, if we consider his thesis in terms of the construction and analysis of ideal or polar types rather than a description of Jamaican society and personality traits before and after modernisation, then his reasoning becomes more credible.[103]

Wedenoja also compares the social organisation of

revivalist cults with that of the Pentecostal sects and finds that the latter are congruent with the values of modernity. The leaders of the revival cults and historic denominations reflected the paternalism and authoritarianism of the colonial government, whereas the Pentecostals are more democratic and egalitarian.[104]

The ideal types of psychological changes encouraged Pentecostalism and also reflect the values of modernity. There has been a shift "from communalism to individualism, passivity to activism, submission to assertion, present to future orientation, immediate to deferred gratification (including self-discipline and self-denial), and shame to guilt."[105] On the other hand, the Pentecostal congregation provides a sense of community and security in an increasingly individualistic, fragmented and anomic modernising society. In addition, the anti-work attitudes which were a reaction to slavery and post-slavery exploitation were countered by Pentecostalism's work ethic.[106]

Pentecostalism has developed and grown in Jamaica in a way which responds to the needs of the lower stratum of black society. It has been indigenised and it reflects the new values of modernisation while incorporating both the Christian fundamentalist tradition, a West African world view, the values of black folk religion and a sense of community. The historic denominations and the syncretistic

cults are in decline and, in some cases (since the mid 1950's) have become increasingly Pentecostal in an attempt to retain their members.

In Jamaica, the Pentecostalism of the black American, William J. Seymour - which had been 'de-Africanised' by white Pentecostals - was reinvigorated with the leitmotive of black folk belief and black dignity. The themes of freedom, equality, community, heaven-sent revolution and spiritual power accompanied by possession, trances, dreams, prophesying, healing and exorcism were mediated through the oral narrative liturgy and theology of the syncretistic sects and cults and the proletarian culture of Jamaica to be reaffirmed in indigenised Jamaican Pentecostalism. To the hand clapping, antiphonal singing, dancing and motor behaviour which echo the rhythms and forms of West Africa, the leitmotive of black folk religion are still be to heard; some more loudly and persistently than others; some almost unrecognisable in their rearranged forms, yet they remain and reflect the world view of Africa and the aspirations of those who were once enslaved and often continue to be degraded by those whose skin is lighter than theirs.

Notes and References

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2. Osborne, F. and Johnston,G., **Coastlands and Islands: First Thoughts on Caribbean Church History**, Kingston, Jamaica: United Theological College, pp.8,9.
Barrett, Leonard, **The Sun and the Drum: African Roots in Jamaican Folk Tradition**, Kingston, Jamaica: Sangster's Book Stores/Heinneman, 1976, pp.16,17.
Thomas-Hope, Elizabeth 'The Pattern of Caribbean Religions' in Gates, Brian, **Afro-Caribbean Religions**, London: Ward Lock Educational, 1980, p.7.
Turner, Harold, 'Caribbean Christianity' in Gates, pp.38,39.
Morrish, Ivor, **Obeah, Christ and Rastaman: Jamaica and its Religion**, Cambridge: James Clark, 1982, pp. 2-8,15.
Barrett, Leonard E. **Soul-Force: African Heritage in Afro-American Religion**, Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974, pp.14,21.
Quotation from Gates, J P, 'George Liele', in **The Chroncle**, Vol 6, No.3, 1943,p 122.
The Arawaks, like the West Africans who were to take their place, practised a form of ancestor worship (Zemism) which included belief in a supreme, immortal, invisible, omnipotent diety who was acknowledged as the benign "Father" and "Maker" who lived above. He required no propitiation, unlike the lesser gods or zemes (zemis) who were the cause of all ills. Furthermore, the natural and supernatural were integrated in a holistic world view. All of nature was interpenetrated by spiritual power. The souls of the righteous went to Coyaba (Paradise) at death, while those of the wicked probably became malevolent zemes (perhaps the word from which zombies derives).
Osborne and Johnston, pp.2,3.
Tillich, Paul, **Systematic Theology**, Vol 1, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951, p 170.
In 1515 an Abbot was nominated for the Island but, like his three successors, never took up residence. In 1539 the 5th Abbott did move to Jamaica and churches were built. A Roman Catholic presence was re-established in 1792 with the arrival of the Irish Franciscan Friar, Anthony Quigley. Currently about 7% of the population of Jamaica are Catholic, with 70% concentrated in and around Kingston.
Simpson, George Eaton, **Black Religions in the New World**, New York: Columbia University Press, 1978, p.25.
During the late 16th Century, European Jews fleeing the Spanish Inquisition also settled in Jamaica.
Africans who were taken into slavèry via West Africa were also from as far away as the country of the Berbers and Tuaregs in the North, Congo in the South, and Nubia in the East. Other tribes represented in Jamaica were the Tiv of

South East Nigeria, the Hausa of Nigeria, the Fuca and Wolof of Gambia, the Mandigo (who were mainly Muslim) of Sierra Leone and the Twi of Ghana.
Morrish, p.16
There had been slavery in West Africa - and throughout Africa - long before the arrival of Europeans but, unlike the slavery of the non-Catholic New World, it did not deny the humanity of the slave.

3. The Spanish were completely expelled in 1658 and many of their slaves fled to the mountains where they became known as Maroons.
See Bastide, Roger, **African Civilisations in the New World** (tr.Peter Green), London: C. Hurst and Co, 1971 (originally **Les Ameriques Noires**, Paris: Editions Payot, 1967), pp.48-51, esp.64,65 et passim.

4. Ellis, J.B. **The Diocese of Jamaica**, p.87 quoted in Osborne and Johnston, p.25.

5. Curtin, Phillip D., **The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census**, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, pp.88,89.
Estimates of the number of Africans transported as slaves to the New World vary greatly from as many as 20 million to as few as 5 million. There is also some evidence to suggest that possibly as many as two-thirds perished before they reached the Americas.
Tannenbaum, Frank, **Slave and Citizen**, New York: Random House, 1946,pp.28-32.
Bastide, pp.5,6.
Morrish, p.10.
There may have been considerably more than 748,000 Negroes brought to Jamaica as slaves. Morrish considers that over one million is a conservative estimate. Whatever the number it was part of the largest forced migration in human history.
Under Spanish rule, African slaves were at least recognised as human beings with some rights. They received religious instruction and Christian marriage was encouraged. Under the British, however, slaves were treated as animals, marriage was prevented and religious instruction denied.
Ibid. pp.11,23-30.

6. Caldecott, Alfred, **The Church in the West Indies**, London: Frank Cass, 1970(orginimally 1898) pp.45,46.

7. Quoted in Caldecott, p.64 and Osborne and Johnston, p.30.
Similar sentiments were expressed by the Bishop of London in his 1727 letter to the slaveholders in America.

8. Quoted in Caldecott, p.47.

9. Ibid.p.48.

10. Quoted in Augier and Gordon, pp.90,91.
See also Osborne and Johnston, pp.25,26.

11. Osborne and Johnston, p.26.
Long, quoted in Gardner, W.J., **History of Jamaica**, pp.195,196, cited in Osborne and Johnston, p.28.
Morrish, p.37.

12. Simpson, **Black Religions**, pp.27,28.

13. Caldecott, p.64.
Concerning the inferior nature of the Anglican Clergy in Jamaica and the Caribbean generally see Obsborne and Johnston, pp.28-31.
See also Barrett, **Soul-Force**, p.45.

14. Caldecott, pp.81,83-85.

15. Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.29.
See also Smith, Raymond T., 'Religion in the Formation of West Indian Society' in Kilson, Martin L., and Rotberg, Robert I., **The African Diaspora**, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976, pp.312-341.

16. Caldecott, pp.81-85. See also Phillippo, James M, **Jamaica: It's Past and Present State**, London: Unwin Bros.,1843, pp 158,159.

17. Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.29.
Williams,Joseph J., **Psychic Phenomena of Jamaica**, Westport, Connecticut:Greenwood Press, 1979(originally New York:Dial Press,1934), pp.80,82-84.
Turner, 'Caribbean Christianity', p.39.

18. Curtin, Phillip, D., **Two Jamaicas:The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony 1830-1865**, New York: Athenium, 1975, pp.35,167.
Barrett, **Soul-Force**, p.45.

19. Quoted in Caldecott, p.90.
For the reasons behind the delay in making Jamaica a diocese see Osborne and Johnston, pp.28-31.

20. Caldecott, p.91.

21. Ibid. p.92.

22. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, pp.31,32,166,167.

23. Caldecott, pp.71,72.
Osborne and Johnston, p.56.
Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, pp.162-169.
The few Anglican missionarys and school teachers who did care about the welfare of the slaves were from a society formed in London by Bishop Porteous "for the Conversion and

Education of Negro Slaves." Davis, J Merle, **The Church in the New Jamaica**, New York: International Missionary Council, 1942, p 13.

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Simpson, **Black Religions**, pp.31-33.
Caldecott, pp.72-74.
Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, p.36.
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25. An uncertain translation of Zizendorf's (1739) farewell speech or letter to the Negroes of St Thomas written in Cariolic (Negro-Dutch) and printed in **Budingsche Sammlung Einiger in Die Kirchen-Historie Einschllagender, Sonderlich Neuerer Schriften**, Leipzig: D Korte, 1742, Vol 1, pp 453-457. See also the translation by Oldendorp, C G A, **Gesschichte Der Mission Der Evengelischen Bruder Auf Den Caraibischen Inseln S.Thomas, S.Croix und S Jan**, Bosset, J J (ed) Barby, Germany, 1777, Vol 1, pp 592-595. Photostats and some translation provided by Jorg Bayer of Frankfurt. Bayer cites Zinsendorf, N L, **Auszuge Aus...Reden Auber Biblische Texte nach Ordnung Der Bucher Der Heiligen Schrift, Vol 1, Das Erste Buch Mose**, Clemend, Gottfried (ed), Barby, Germany: Seminario Theologicio, 1763, as evidence that Zizendorf did not make any connection between slavery and Noah's curse in Genesis Chapter 9. See also Hutton, p.44; Mcqueen, James, **The West Indies Colonies**, Hurst & Co, 1925, passim.

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Osborne and Johnston, p.45.
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Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.40.
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27. Simpson, **Black Religions**.pp.38,39.
Genovese, Eugene, **Roll, Jordan, Roll**, New York: Pantheon Books, 1974, p 173.

28. Simpson, p.41.

29. As a result of the involvement of many coloured people (mulattos) with Methodism, they were brought into contact with British humanitarianism and consequently tended to reflect the views of British evangelicals rather than those of the white planters.
Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, p.46.
Osborne and Johnson, p.56.

30. Caldecott, pp.72-74.

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34. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas** Ibid.
See also Haskins, James, **Witchcraft,Mysticism and Magic in the Black World**, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co. Ltd., 1974, pp.20-22.
I am not entirely happy about using the word "fettish" because of the way it has been applied by some authors. However, the term has been retained for want of a suitable alternative. For an excellent discussion of its use see Idowu, E.Bolaji, **African Traditional Religion: A Definition**, London: SCM Press, 1973, pp.125-128.
cf. Barrett, **Soul-Force**, p.86.
The Bible was also treated as a 'fettish' or charm to protect the carrier against Obeah. Williams, Cynric R, **A Tour Through the Islands of Jamaica**, 1823, London: Hunt and Clark, 1826, p 194.
Osborne and Johnston, cite Hope Waddell s account of Myalism being practised by Baptists: "A circle was formed, in the inside of which were two women, a girl and a man. The females were performing a kind of mystic dance wheeling around sometimes in the centre, and at other times round the circle, spreading out their arms or pressing people on the breast. One of the women was humming a low song,the others keeping up a low whistle; those who formed the ring joined in the song, and keeping time with the motion of their bodies. The man stood with his arms perfectly quiet watching over the proceedings and apparently the director of them... These proceedings were carried on in the Baptist leader's house and yard, and the man who directed them was a Baptist in full communion; and those who composed the ring, and took part in the business were princiPly if not entirely, of the same church."
What Waddell describes is entirely consistent with practices in West African folk religion and in this instance they had been syncretised with Baptist beliefs and practices.
Osborne and Johnston, pp.142,143.

35. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, pp.33,34,164,165.
Simpson, **Black Religions**, pp.42,43.

Osborne and Johnston, pp.137-143.

36. Simpson, George Eaton, 'Religions in the Caribbean' in Kilson and Rotberg, pp.289,290.
Simpson, **Black Religions**, pp.43,44.
Davis, p 16.

37. Caldecott, pp.75,76,80.

38. See for example the report of the refusal to grant a license to preach to the Baptist missionary James Phillippo, in Augier and Gordon, pp.99,100.

39. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, p.38.
See also Osborne and Johnston, p.31.

40. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, p.35.
Osborne and Johnston, pp.85,101n.

41. An order of the common council of Kingston, Jamaica, 1807, quoted in Augier and Gordon, pp.75,76.

42. Caldecott, pp.82,83.
Augier and Gordon, pp.95-98.
Simpson, **Black Religions**, pp.40,41.

43. Quoted in Caldecott, p.85.

44. Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.41.
The 1826 Slave Law stated: "that any slave found preaching, without a permit from his owner... shall suffer such punishment, by whipping or imprisonment, as any three magistrates may award.
That no sectarian minister, or other preacher, shall keep open a place of meeting after sun-set, under a penalty of from twenty to fifty pounds...
That all nightly meetings amongst slaves are unlawful..."
'Brief Abstract of the Slave Law, Past By The Jamaica House of Assembly, during the Session, held at the latter end of the year 1826 ', in Senior, B.M., **Jamaica, As it Was,As it Is, And As it May Be**, London: T. Hurst, 1835, pp.152,153, reprinted in 1969 by Negro Universities Press, New York.

45. Mason, Phillip, **Patterns of Dominance**, London: Oxford University Press for IRR, 1971, p.276 quoting Henry Coor in Lowenthal, David, **West Indian Societies**, London: Oxford University Press for IRR.

46. Mason, pp.276-278.

47. Williams, pp.113-125.
Barrettt,**Soul-Force**, p.65
See also Morrish, p.41 and Lewis, M G, **Journal of a West Indian Proprietor**, Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co, 1929 (originally 1816), pp 124-126.

48. Osborne and Johnston, pp.67-71.

49. Wilmore, pp.146-148.
Osborne and Johnston, p.74.
See also Senior, pp.159-302.
The Baptist War was neither the first nor the last such mass uprising in Jamaica. From 1735 to 1740 there had been the Maroon War and in 1760 another rebellion involved over a thousand slaves.

50. Quoted in Augier and Gordon, pp.100,101.

51. Caldecott, pp.94,95.
Hinton, John Howard, **Memoir of Willian Knibb**, London, Houlston and Stoneman, 1847, p 118.
Augier and Gordon, pp.101,102.
Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.41
Simpson, 'Religions of the Caribbean',p.287.
Osborne and Johnson, pp.74,75.
A brief synopsis of slave revolts in Jamaica is given in DuBois, W.E. Burghardt, **The Negro**, London: Open University Press, 1970 (originally 1915), p.108.

52. Quoted in Augier and Gordon, pp 104,105. See also Holmes, p 350.

53. Caldecott, p.98.
It would be naive to claim that the abolition of slavery was brought about purely as a result of humanitarian considerations. The pressure from Christian abolitionists coincided with the economic interests of capitalist manufacturers who wished to undermine the West Indian trade monopoly. See Williams, Eric, **Capitalism and Slavery**, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp 135,136.

54. Osborne and Johnston, pp.104-107.

55. Quoted in Ibid.p.107.

56. Quoted in Ibid.

57. Ibid. pp.112-119.

58. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, pp.162-169.
Erskine, pp 74, 77, 78.
Rebellions did not end with emancipation. In 1865 the Baptist Minister, Dr.Underhill wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies complaining of the ill treatment of the lower classes at the hands of the white plantocracy. They and the Anglican Clergy strongly denied this, but a copy of his letter found its way into the newspapers of Jamaica. This sparked off meetings in towns and villages throughout the Island, and ultimately to an uprising at

Morant Bay. Led by the Native Baptist preacher Paul Bogle, and supported by the white evangeliical, George William Gordon, the rebellion was ruthlessly quelled and led to the resumption of political control by the metropolitan power and the disestablishment of the Church of England. Over 400, including Bogle and Gordon were put to death.
Ibid. pp.178-203.
Black, C.V. **The Story of Jamaica,** London: Collins, pp.171-183.
Morrish, p.38
In 1921 Alexander Bedward and his followers marched on Kingston.
See Eaton, G., **Alexander Bustamante and the Modern Jamaica,** Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1975, pp.21,22 and n.78 of this work.
After emancipation the social structure which had been primarily based on the distinction between slave and free, black and white, now developed into one based on the degree of skin colour; with blacks at the bottom, whites at the top and brown skinned peoples occupying the intermediate strata.
Underhill cites three reasons for the ultimate decline of the denominations:the cholera empidemic of 1851 which killed "at least one-tenth of the population" is an unlikely explanation; the movement of large numbers of emancipated slaves away from centres of population into the outlying areas which were not served by the churches did contribute to falling roles; and the loss of those church members who had joined as an expression of thankfullness for their liberation was also a partial cause. Concerning the latter Underhill wrote:"...the first four or five years after emancipation was a period of great excitement, and the ministers of the dissenting bodies had the credit of having acquired for the people this act of justice, and on their grateful and abounding emotion the enfranchised multitudes flocked to the house of God and pressed into the doors of the church. They were very ignorant and it was difficult to distinguish the devout expressions of thankfullness from the overflowing love of hearts truely touched by the Spirit of God. Thus numbers were baptized, who gradually fell away as the cares of their new life cooled their ardour, or were seperated from Church fellowship through the outbursi of unregenerate dispositions."
Underhill, E.B.,**The West Indies,Their Social and Religious Condition**,1859,pp.430,431, quoted in Osborne and Johnson, p.124.
For the slaves of Jamaica, evangelical Christianity (particularly the Baptists) had the attraction of being to some degree amenable to the black leitmotive. Furthermore, the evangelical missionaries were the first Europeans to take black people seriously and treat them as human beings. After emancipation, white led denominations could not compete with the black sects and cults which carried the Afro-Christian synthesis forward in the creation of

genuinely indigenised religion.
Osborne and Johnson, pp.124,125,127.
After emancipation two other missionary bodies became involved in Jamaica. In 1835 the Congregationalists sent six men of their London Missionary Society to the Island and by 1861 they had almost 1,700 full members. In 1858 James Oliver Beardslee, a veteran Congregationalist missionary to Jamaica, returned to the island having joined the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) because of his espousal of believers' rather than infant baptism. Beardslee had little success in evangelism but did better at proselytising. By 1861 they numbered only 470.
Osborne and Johnston, pp.120,121.

59. Alfred Caldecott, writing in 1898, records the strength of the larger denominations represented in Jamaica at that time. The Church of England had 140 ministers, 45,000 communicant members and 318 day schools; the Presbyterians had sixty-five congregations; the Congregationalists had ten pastors and three thousand six-hundred members; the Baptists sixty-one ministers with a hundred and seventy-nine stations, thirty-six thousand members and many day schools; the Wesleyan Methodists had twenty-four thousand full members; the United Free Methodists, nine ministers and three thousand five hundred members; the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) had eighteen congregations; the Moravians had six thousand five hundred full members and the Salvation Army, which only commenced work in Jamaica in 1892, had sixty-one stations and one hundred officers. Caldecott, pp 247-251. Caldecott's figures appear to be fairly accurate and are confirmed by other sources. See note 90.
Before the end of the 19th century, African Methodist Episcopal missions had been established in Jamaica.
Wilmore, p.147.
Many denominations started mission work in Jamaica after the abolition of slavery. The Congregational Union in 1834; The Church of Christ in 1858; The Salvation Army in 1887, and the Seventh-Day Adventists in 1894. Davis, pp 19-21.

60. Barrett, **Sun**, p.12.
See also Williams, pp.196,197 et passim.

61. Simpson, **Black Religions**,pp.18,19.
See for example Barrett, **Sun**, p.11 et passim.
The Maroon communities in particular retained much of the culture of Africa. Many of them were Africans who had escaped as soon as they were landed on the Island. Richard Price has noted that "the least acculturated slaves were among those most prone to maroonage, often escaping,within their very first hours or days on American soil. And often doing so in groups..."
Price, Richard (ed), **Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas**, New York,:Anchor/Doubleday,

1973, p.24.
See also Bastide, pp.7,48-51,64,65 et passim.
Although blacks were usually out-numbered by whites in the United States, there were exceptions. In 1742 Maryland had 140,000 Negroes but only 100,000 whites, and in both North and South Carolina there were 90,000 Negroes to 40,000 whites in 1765.
Bastide, p.6.

62. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**,pp.25,26.
Simpson, George Eaton, **Religious Cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica,and Haiti**, Rio Piedras:University of Puerto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies, pp.172,173-177.
Braithwaite, pp.17,20-23.
Thomas-Hope, p.8.
Barrett, **Soul-Force**, pp.72-75.
cf Bastide, pp.21-25,90.
In 1696 the Jamaican legislature hinted at a recognition of the connection between drumming and African primal religion and magic when they passed a law "for the prevention of the meetings of slaves in great numbers on Sundays and Holidays, whereby they have taken liberty to contrive and bring to pass many of their bloody and inhuman transactions... no master, or mistress, or overseer, shall suffer any drumming or meeting of any slaves not belonging to their own plantations, to rendezvous, feast, revel, beat drum, or cause any disturbance."
Acts of Assembly, London, 1743, p.35.
For a consideration of the role and significance of drumming in Africa see Nketia, J.H.K., **Our Drums and Drummers**, Ghana:Ghana Publishing House, 1968,passim.
For further information on the religious use of dance see Wosien, M.G., **Sacred Dance:Encounter With the Gods**, London, Thames and Hudson, 1974,passim.
In the Cumina cult, Myal (i.e. possession) takes place via the drums. The gods and spirits are invoked by the drumming and then enter the drum before possessing the devotees.
Most of the syncretistic cults of Africa (including those of West Africa) continued to use drums in their worship and believe in some form of spirit possession.See for example Lanternari, Vittorio, **The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults**, (tr.Sergio, Lisa) London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1963 pp.48,61

63. Quoted in Compton, Jaques,'Africa in West Indian Consciousness' in Gates, pp.26,27.

64. DuBois, **The Negro**, p.113.
See also Taylor, John V., **The Primal Vision: Christian Presence Amid African Religion**, London: SCM Press, 1963, pp.127-145.

65. DeLisser, Herbert, G., **Twentieth Century Jamaica**, Kingston, Jamaica, 1913,p.32,quoted in Barrett, **Sun** p.69

and **Soul-Force**, pp.63,64.
See also Williams, pp.40-43,50-68,72-74.

66. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas** p.27.
See also Braithwaite, pp.14,15,25 and Beckwith, Martha Warren, **Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaica Folk Life**, NC: Chapel Hill, 1929, pp.149-155

67. Curtin, Ibid.,p.28.and see also pp.29,30,169,170.
Raboteau, Albert J., **Slave Religion:The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antibellum South**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp.33,34.
Simpson, **Cults**, p.192.
Beckwith, p.105.See also pp.104-156.
Barrett, **Soul-Force** ,pp.28-31,63-69.
Barrett notes that: "Whenever the (African) society is in equilibriam, that is, when the society is under proper control, there is little use for witchcraft. On the contrary, whenever the society is in an unstructured state, whenever there is cultural confusion or social disorientation, witchcraft is likely to flourish. This being the case, it is easy to see why witchcraft became dominant in the slave societies."
Ibid.pp.64,65.
Morrish, pp.22-24, 40-43.
Barrett, **Sun**, pp.69,70,73-89.
Barrett gives several examples of Obeah from personal experience.
See also Barrett's consideration of the social functions of Obeah, Ibid. p.82.
See also a description of Myal dance in Lewis, pp 294,295.
Obeah and Myalism which were both practised in secret, were probably to some extent encouraged by the restrictions placed on the meeting of slaves for overtly religious worship. African Obayi has been syncretised with teachings found in books of magic published in the United States and Europe (most importantly **The Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses**, Chicago: de Laurance Company), to become Jamaican Obeah. Belief in the power of Obeah is still widespread, particularly among the older generation in Jamaica.
The Ashanti priest in Africa is known as Obi O Komfo.
Williams defines Obeah as:"...the continuation of Ashanti witchcraft, (which) is professedly a projection of spiritual power with the harm of the individual as an objective. Practically, its end is attained through fear, supplemented if needs be by secret poisoning. The agent is the servant of the Sansabonsam or Devil who is invoked with and relied upon to produce the desired effect." Williams, p.109.
cf. Mbiti, John S., **African Religions and Philosophy**, New York: Praeger, 1969, passim.
See also Bastide's account of the African origins of Myalism and Obeah in Bastide,pp.101-104.
Myal men, believing themselves invulnerable to bullets, were involved in the 1760 rebellion.

Beckwith, p.143.
See also the writings of Baptist Missionary, James Murcel Phillippo, **Jamaica:Its Past and Present State**, London, 1843, p.46.
Forms of glossolalia are used by both Myal and Obeah practitioners and occur in Revival Zion and Pocomania.
Beckwith, pp.146, 157, 173, 176, 177.

68. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, pp.30,31.
Raboteau, pp.30,31.
Simpson,**Cults**, pp.166,201-207.
Braithwaite, Edward Kamau, **The Folk Culture of the Slaves in Jamaica**, London: New Beacon Books, 1981, pp.9-11.
Morrish, pp. 62-64.
Most first generation Jamaicans in Britain, including Pentecostals, continue to observe the "nine nights" ceremony when one of their community dies.
See Barrett, pp.91-100, who recounts examples of hauntings and poltergeist activity.
See also Haskins, James, **Witchcraft, Mysticism and Magic in the Black World**, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co.Inc., 1974, pp.14,15.
One of the most serious kinds of haunting is a form of poltergeist activity which involves the throwing of stones at people or property. These "stone throwing duppies" and other forms of trouble caused by ghosts can be avoided by the duppy of a dead person being properly laid to rest. For examples of stone throwing duppies see Williams, pp.6-8, 150-152, 220-243. Other forms of haunting are described on pp.148-153.
The troublesome "duppies" of Jamaica are virtually identical to the "mmoatia" of the Ashanti.
Morrish, pp.17,18,44.
Concerning the African concept of multiple souls see Williams, pp.154f, Raboteau, pp.32,44,45, Bastide, p.100, Turner, V.W.,**The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia**, 1952, p.51 cited in Mbiti, John S., **New Testament Eschatology in an African Background**, London: SPCK, 1978, pp.131,132, Taylor, pp.53-56, Morrish, pp.43,44 and Barrett, **Soul-Force**, pp.24,25.
Some interesting similarities between Freud and, more particularly, Jung s models of the mind and African multiple soul concepts deserve further study. Of course, it should be remembered that much of Jung's theory was based on research carried out in Africa. Furthermore, the synretism of Alexandrian-Jewish and Hellenistic-Platonic philosphy undertaken by Philo Judaeus (c20BC - AD47) brought the multiple soul concept into both Jewish and Christian thinking.

69. Barrett, pp.39-44.
See also Beckwith,pp.84-87.
During the arms struggle in Zimbabwe the black gorilla forces were often forewarned by their spirit mediums who dreamt of impending attacks. **No Easy Walk**, Channel 4

Television, 12th September 1987.

70. Williams, pp.43-49.
For a comprehensive collection of Jamaican folk tales with African origins see Jekyll, Walter, **Jamaican Song and Story:Annancy Stories, Digging Songs, Ring Tunes, and Dancing Tunes**, London:David Nutt for the Folk-Lore Society, 1907, passim.
Barrett, **Soul-Force**, pp.31-37.
For a comprehensive account of funeral customs see Beckwith, pp.70-87, and for a consideration of duppies, pp.88-101.
Herskovits, Melville, J., **Man and his Works**, has compiled a comparative table of African survivals in the New World, part of which is reproduced below:

	Social Organisation	Religion	Magic	Folklore
Jamaica(Marrono)	B	B	A	C
Jamaica (Gen.)	D	C	B	C
United States (Rural South)	C	C	C	E
U.S.(North)	C	C	C	E

A=Pure African; B=Strongly African; C=Fairly African; D=Slightly African; E=Faint traces, or none, of African customs.
Cited in Bastide, pp.12-14, see also pp.169-184.

71. Bascom, William, 'Folklore and Literature' in Lystad, Robert A., (ed) **The African World:A Survey of Social Research**, London:Pall Mall Press for the African Studies Association, 1965, pp.468-473, 475,478-486.
Braithwaite, pp.12-15.
Under slavery, children were usually separated from their parents to be brought up by the old women who were no longer capable of field labour. This section of the slave population, because of age, were most likely to dwell on the past and thus pass on the lore and values of Africa. This to some extent mirrored the common practise in Africa where grandparents take considerable responsibility for the education of their grandchildren.
Taylor, p.89.
Bastide, p.89.

72. Simpson, **Black Religions**, p5.
Lanternari, p.4, see also p.5.

73. Raboteau, pp.16,17.
See DuBois, **The Negro**, p.107.
See also Bastide, pp.48-51, 64,65,167,168, et passim.
The first Maroons (from the Spanish "Cimarron" meaning wild or untamed) were slaves freed by the Spanish when they fled from the British.
Morrish, p.10.

74. Hogg, Donald, 'The Convince Cult in Jamaica' in Mintz, Sidney W.(ed), **Papers in Caribbean Anthropology**, No.58, New Haven:Department of Anthropology, Yale University, 1960,p.4.
cf Taylor, pp.78,79.

75. Ibid. pp.3-24.
Simpson, **Black Religions**, pp.100-102.
Bastide, p.101.
See also Beckwith, pp.191,192.

76. Raboteau, pp.17,330n.
Moor,J.G., **Religion of Jamaican Negroes, A Study of Afro-Jamaican Acculturation**, PhD Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1953, and Simpson, George Eaton, **Jamaican Revivalist Cults**, Institute of Social and Economic Studies, University College of the West Indies, December 1956, cited and summarised in Simpson, **Cults**, op cit. pp.161-163,172,175-180.
Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.98.
The word 'Zombie' is used to refer to a god, an ancestral spirit or a living cult member who has been possessed by one or more of these.
Barrett, **Soul-Force** pp.69-71.
See also Morrish, pp.59-62.
cf Taylor, p.72
For a possible etymology of Cumina see Morrish, p.59.

77. Simpson, **Black Religions** ,pp.98-100.
Simpson, 'Religions of the Caribbean', pp.294,295.
Simpson, **Cults**, pp.167,171,174-180 and see also pp.191-194.

78. Curtin, **Two Jamaicas**, pp.170,171.
Gardener, William James, **A History of Jamaica from its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Present Time**, London, 1873, p.464.
Morrish, pp.47-49
Curtin's contention that what began as a 'Christian' revival swiftly became and Afro-Christian syncretism is born out by the practices and beliefs of the cults which developed from it.
cf. Osborne and Johnston, pp.143-146 who disagree with Curtin.
Pocomania may date from the 1820s but its popularity was greatly boosted by the 1860s revival.

79. Curtin, Ibid.

80. Ibid. pp.32-34.
In 1894 the semi-literate but extraordinarily eloquent Alexander Bedward founded the Jamaica Baptist Free Church. Claiming to have received visions from God, Bedward proclaimed himself the reincarnation of Elijah, John the Baptist, Jonah and Moses. Ultimately (in 1920) he claimed

to be the Messiah, the Son of God, and led his followers to believe that on the 31st December 1920 he would ascend into heavenand then return in power to the earth in order to gather his disciples before the destruction of the earth by fire. His organisation was not without political impact and was pledged to the overthrow of white oppression and exploitation and prophesied the destruction of the whites. Many of his followers sold or gave away their possessions as the day of predicted ascention drew near. When it failed, Bedward set other dates and was ultimately arrested, confined to a mental asylum and died in 1930.
Beckwith, pp.168-169.

81. Simpson, **Black Religions**,p.112.
Raboteau, pp.27,28.
Revival Zion, like Pocomania had its origins in Myalism which pre-dated the 1860s, but although it may have begun around 1842, its popularity and expansion came about as a result of the religious enthusiasm of the Great Revival.
Beckwith, pp.157,158.

82. Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.113
See also Barrett, **Sun**, pp.83-88.
For descriptions of possession by former Revival leaders see Simpson **Cults**, pp.163-165.

83.Quotations from Simpson, **Black Religions** p.113,114.
Simpson, 'Religions of the Caribbean',pp.295,296.
Simpson, **Cults**, pp.165,170-172,180-185, 188,189.
Beckwith, pp.157,173.
See also Williams, pp.[illegible].

84. Simpson, **Cults**, pp.167,185,199.
See also Morrish, pp.55-58 and Erskine, pp 98-106.

85. Price, p.16.
Barrett, **Sun**, pp.25-27.
Turner,Harold,'New Religious Movements in the Caribbean', in Gates, op.cit. p.51.
Simpson, **Cults**, pp.165,173,174,190.
Beckwith, pp.146,176,177. See also pp.176-182
Morrish, p.54.
For other suggested etymologies of Pocomania see Morrish, pp.51,52 and Beckwith,p.176.

86. Simpson, **Black Religions**,pp.98-102,111-116.
Simpson, **Cults**, pp.171,172,198,199.
Barrett, **Sun** pp.67-69,107-110.
Bastide, p.163.
cf. DuBois, **The Negro**, p.75 and Mbiti, passim.
See also Haskins, pp.18-20.
Glossolalia which is widespread among the Pentecostal movement as a whole is also practised in various forms in Jamaica by Bongo Men (Convince), Revival Zionists, Pocomanians and Spiritual Baptists. See especially

Beckwith, pp.146, 157, 173, 176, 177. Glossolalia is also common in the African Independent Churches and is a pre-Pentecostal phenomenon found in primal religion throughout Africa. See for examples of its occurence in South Africa:
Bryant, A.T., 'The Zulu Cult of the Dead' in **Man**, Vol.17, No.95, 1917, pp.140-145, where the Umbozi or speaking spirit of the Zulu communicates through the medium in a form of glossolalia.
Hellman, Ellen, **Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa**, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1949, pp.567-569.
MacLean, Colonel, **A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs**, London: Frank Cass, 1968 (Originally 1858) pp.28ff.
Norbeck, Edward, **Religion in Primitive Society**, New York: Harper and Bros., 1961, pp.91,94.
Welch, Sidney, R., **Portuguese Rule and Spanish Crown in South Africa 1581-1640**, Cape Town: Juta and Co., 1950, p.155.
For examples of pre-Pentecostal glossolalia in East Africa see:
Decary, Raymond, **Moeurs et Coutumes des Malagaches**, Paris: Payot, 1951, p.225.
Tanner, R.E.S., 'The Magician in Northern Sukumaland, Tanganyika' in **South-Western Journal of Anthropology**, Vol.13, No.4, pp.334-351.
Tanner, R.E.S., 'The Theory and Practice of Sukuma Spirit Mediumship' in Beattie, J. and Middleton, J. (eds.), **Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa**, New York: African Publishing Corp, 1969, pp.273-289.
Wipper, Audrey, 'A Cult of Mumbo', in **East African Institute of Social Research Conference Papers**, No.374, 1966, pp.2,14,15,22.
For examples of pre-Christian glossolalia in West Africa - the area of the Jamaican's great tradition' - see:
Debrunner, H., **Whitchcraft in Ghana**, Accra: Presbyterian Book Depot, 1959, p.122, cf pp.151-160.
Fitzgerald, Dale, 'Prophetic Speech in Ga Spirit Mediumship' in **Working Paper No.30: Language-Behaviour Research Laboratory**, Berkeley: University of California, 1970.
For a comprehensive list of published sources (1850-1977) which refer to the incidence of glossolalia in Afro-Christian Religion, both in Africa and the Americas see Zaretsky, Irving I. and Shambaugh, Cynthia, **Spirit Possession and Spirit Mediumship in Africa and Afro-America: An Annotated Bibliography**, New York: Garland, 1978, p.428 et passim.
For a brief summary of glossolalia in non-Christian cultures see Christie-Murray, David, **Voices from the Gods: Speaking with Tongues**, London and Henley: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1978, pp 1-13.

87. Turner, 'New Religious Movements' pp.49,50.
Turner also states that: "The religious value to the worshipper lies in the intimate relation with a more than

human power that leads to the acquisition of a larger personality, and to experiences, even if only temporary, of a new joy and freedom when one escapes from one's lowly lot of poverty, suffering and injustice and shares in the life of the spirit powers of a larger and better world." Ibid.
See also Braithwaite, pp.15,16.
Barrett, **Soul-Force**, pp.24,25.
cf Taylor, p.77.

88. Hogg, pp.21,22.
Donald Hogg attributes the decline in Convince to competition among the Bongo men; improved social and economic conditions brought about by education, and government-run agricultural programmes; increasing conflict with Christianity; the rise of the politico-religious Ras Tafari movement; and the increasing availability of other forms of entertainment and recreation.
Around 1914-18 the Jamaican Negro, Marcus Garvey had founded his United Negro Improvement Association. In the 1930s the Ras Tafari Movement began to develop the ideas of Garvey and to use his slogans of "Africa for the Africans!" and "One God, One Goal, One Destiny!" Garvey had advocated the return of Negroes to Africa (Ethiopia) and this has become a central theme of Ras Tafarianism. Negroes, according to Ras Tafarian belief are the reincarnation of the tribes of Israel, exiled from Ethiopia (heaven) to the West Indies (hell on earth) because of their transgression of the Law. Haile Selassie (Ras Tafari) is the living God - the black messiah - who will bring his people back to Ethiopia (Africa), exalt the Negroes and humiliate Babylon (the whites and their powerful institutions).

89. Wedenoja, William, 'Modernisation and the Pentecostal Movement in Jamaica' in Glazier, Stephen D., (ed) **Perspectives on Pentecostalism:Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America**, Washington DC: University Press of America, 1980, p.29.
Morrish, p.99.
Gerloff, Roswith in her unpublished diagram of the 'Geneology' of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement in Jamaica.

90. Simpson, **Black Religions**, p.50.
Wedenoja, p.28.
Osborne and Johnson, pp.188, 189.
Statistics from various sources cited in Osborne and Johnston, pp.188,193n, illustrate the rapid growth of the denominations in Jamaica during the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Anglicans	1871-19,576
	1890-40,298
Baptists	1863-30,000
	1870-20,000
	1910-40,000
Methodists	1866-14,500
	1882-18,500

Moravians	1873-4,400
	1903-6,700
Presbyterians	1865-5,124
	1910-12,547
Catholics	1866-4,000*
	1921-30,000*

*Census figures. Actual membership was probably about half of this.

91. The various sects using the name 'Church of God' have a three stage soteriology and are mainly associated with or derive from the Church of God (Cleveland) and The Church of God of Prophecy. The terms 'Pentecostal' and 'Apostolic' are normally used by Jamaicans to designate the modalistic 'Oneness' sects which baptise using the simple formula - in the name of Jesus Christ.

92. **Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica, 1974**, Kingston: Department of Statistics,1975.
Simpson, **Black Religions**, pp.48,301,303-305,309,327.
The Seventh-Day Adventists have also grown as the main denominations have contracted. From 5% in 1960, they grew to 6.5% in 1970.

93. **Statistical Yearbook**.
Wedenoja, pp.30-32.

94. The overtly racist ideologies of the past have been somewhat transformed, with social stratification now justified in terms of the level of education, literacy or 'civilisation', and the type of socialisation of the individual. However the dichotomies of "literate or illiterate", "educated or uneducated", "civilised or barbarian" etc., correlate very closely with "white or black", "European or African".
See Austin, D.J. 'Born Again...and Again and Again: Communitas and Social Change Among Jamaican Pentecostalists' in **Journal of Anthropological Research**, Vol.37, No.3, 1981, pp.229,230.

95. Many of those in positions of power in Jamaica oppose Pentecostalism. Some denominational ministers see it as a threat while those in government and business consider it a nuisance and a delusion.

96. See Austin, pp.226-246.

97. Wilson, Brian R.,**Religious Sects**, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970, pp.71-73.
According to one black historian, about one third of all black Americans are connected to Pentecostalism in some way. Low, W A and Clift, Virgil, **Encyclopaedia of Black America**, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981, p667 cited in Tinney, James S , 'The Significance of Race in the Rise and Development of the Apostolic Pentecostal Movement' in

Papers Presented to the First Occasional Symposium on Aspects of the Oneness Pentecostal Movement, held at Harvard Divinity School, July, 1984, p 55.

98. Wedenoja, p.37.

99. Ibid. pp.33,34.

100. Ibid. p.34.

101. Ibid. p.35.

102. Ibid.

103. Wedenoja suggests that at least part of his analysis should be understood in terms of ideal types.

104. Wedenoja, p.37.

105. Ibid.p.38.

106. cf Richmond, Anthony H, **The Colour Problem**, Middlesex: Penguin/Pelican Books, 1955, p222.

CHAPTER THREE

JAMAICAN MIGRATION TO BRITAIN

"God have brought me from a mighty long way."
- Jamaican Pentecostal chorus and testimony

The overwhelming majority of people attending black-led Pentecostal services in Wolverhampton are from the island of Jamaica or are children of Jamaican parentage. Jamaica, together with the other islands of the Caribbean, has a common history of slavery and imperialist colonial exploitation. What Max Weber called "booty capitalism". Slaves were brought from West Africa to work on the plantations of their British owners.1 Those who survived the middle passage were faced with what has been described as "the most massive acculturational event in human history."2 Taken from their African homelands, great pressure was brought to bear on them to relinquish their own culture, language and religion and adopt those of their masters. Although this was more pronounced in the United States than it was in Jamaica, by the time slavery was abolished in 1833, the African culture of the black population of the island had been almost completely overlaid with a British system of values. On the one hand, black people had been persuaded to imitate a way of life which was alien to them and to which they could not attain, while on the other hand rejecting their own culture and even their own blackness. West Indian sociologist, Ken

Price writes:

> The dilemma in the West Indies is that European values have been internalised by a people who are predominantly African in origin; and since, within the terms of Western values generally, things African have always had a low placing compared with things European, West Indians on the whole have always despised the Negro-African elements in their backgrounds as primative and inferior. So from the very beginning there was a tension between the slavery-based sub-structure of values and the diffusion of metropolitan values through colonialisation.3

Similarly, Ashley Smith declares that:

> Walter Rodney's statement, "the adult black in our West Indian society is fully conditioned to thinking white"... applies no less in the sphere of religion than it does in other aspects of Caribbean life. The intensity of black self-hatred, body-shame and fatalism is due mainly to the use of religion as an instrument for the inculcation of the "white bias" in the non-European peoples of the region.4

After emancipation and the collapse of the slave based economy, many black Jamaicans became peasant farmers, and white planters brought in the cheap labour they required from other countries - India, Africa, China, Germany, Scotland and Ireland. These immigrants were rapidly absorbed into the Jamaican caste (or estate) system, where social status and colour are closely correlated, with the top of the pyramid predominantly white, the bottom black, and the intermediate strata composed of mixed race and brown skinned people. The 'white' definitions of European superiority and African inferiority have been largely internalised by the black population so that not only skin colour but hair texture and facial structure are determinants of status.5 The majority of those who

migrated to Britain are from near the bottom of the colour correlated socio-economic pile, although during the early stages of migration in the 1950s over half of these were skilled men.6 Wolverhampton, however, received a far higher proportion of the poorly educated from rural parishes than did most other areas of settlement.

a. THE PUSH OF POVERTY

For the majority in Jamaica, to be black is to be poor. The abolition of slavery in 1833, self government in 1944 and independence in 1962 have done little to create a more equitable society. The incomes of the black masses, especially those in the country parishes, have generally remained at subsistence level.7 In 1949 a British Labour MP accurately remarked that:

> The advertising brochures describe Jamaica as a tropical paradise. In many of its aspects, however, it would be truer to describe it as a tropical slum.8

In the past, Jamaica, as a slave society and as a colony, was economically dependent on Britain and the profits were taken by the absentee plantation owners rather than being reinvested on the island. After the collapse of the sugar industry, British and American multi-nationals and the estate of the Jamaican white elite took over the basically unchanged plantation based economy.9

Subsistence farming on small-holdings of some one and a half to two acres of poor land per family is the lot of 60%

of the island's population. By contrast, the rich planters who comprise a mere .17% of the farming families, control some 44% of the most fertile land.[10]

Growing industrialisation has also been dominated by foreign capital-intensive methods which have created massive unemployment. And the movement of the unemployed from rural areas to urban centres has created the appalling slums of Kingston. West Indian novelist, V.S. Naipaul writes:

> The slums of Kingston are beyond description... Hovels of board and cardboard and canvas and tin lie choked together on damp rubbish dumps... and on drier ground are the packing-case houses, the tiniest houses ever built, suggesting a vast arrested community given over to playing in grubby dolls' houses. Then there are the once real houses packed to bursting point, houses so close in streets so narrow that there is no feeling of openness. Filth and rubbish are disgorged everywhere; everywhere there are puddles; and on rubbish dumps latrines are forbidden by law. Pigs and goats wander as freely as the people and seem as individual and important.[11]

In the midst of this appalling squalor; murder, violence, rioting and looting are on the increase.

Little wonder that black Jamaicans have viewed emigration as one possible means of escape from grinding poverty. Beginning in the 19th century, some left to work in Panama, and the trend has continued with an estimated 146,000 leaving the country between the 1880s and 1920.

b. THE PULL OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY

Not surprisingly, the mother country which many Jamaicans looked to as their 'cultural', if not ancestral homeland, was England. They had been taught in English speaking schools by teachers with British middle-class values. The textbooks were British, and they learned the history, not of the Caribbean or of Africa, but of the mother country. Rose et al state that they, "learned as loyal subjects of the Crown to sing 'Rule Britannia' and 'God Save the King'." Their African origins had been overlaid by this colonial culture and to a great extent by the religion of Christian missionaries.12

During the Second World War, the temporary solidarity engendered by a common danger weakened the effects of class and race differences. Men from the West Indies - some ten thousand from Jamaica - were recruited, mainly for the Royal Air Force and the civilian Overseas Volunteers, and were stationed in Britain. This war-time solidarity, however, while it may have curbed prejudice and discrimination in the face of a common enemy, certainly did not eliminate it. For example, in April 1946, fifteen British naval officers from the colonies were court-marshalled at Portsmouth for refusing to board HMS Fifeness because they objected to sleeping in part of the ship labelled "native quarters", using toilet facilities labelled "native latrine" and being excluded from the

wardroom.13 In February of the same year, racial hostility led to violence at an RAF camp near Market Drayton. "When two Jamaican airmen refused to fetch English airmen meat at supper," fighting broke out which resulted in six of the whites being treated in hospital. The newspaper article fails to mention how many black airmen were injured. Later the same day, as the Jamaicans were returning to their billets, stones were thrown by the whites and more fighting ensued. The **Express and Star** reported:

> English servicemen are said to have objected to being stationed in the same camp with over a hundred or so Jamaicans, who, however, contend, in reply, that they want to go home.14

Returning home after the war, they were confronted with poverty, high unemployment and the hurricane damage of 1951. Some decided to seek work back in Britain where there was a severe labour shortage. Previous migration between the West Indies and the United Kingdom had been almost exclusively middle and upper-class. However as a result of war service, working-class and lower-middle class West Indians began emigrating to Britain.15

Under the British Nationality Act of 1948, British Commonwealth citizens were allowed to enter Britain, seek employment and settle with their dependants. In 1952, migration to the United States from Jamaica was virtually stopped by the McLarran-Walter Act, and Britain became the only major industrial nation prepared to receive significant numbers from the West Indies.

On the 22nd June 1948, 492 Jamaicans had arrived at Tilbury on board the 'Empire Windrush'. The London **Evening Standard**, referring to the fact that some of them had served in Britain during the war, carried the headline 'WELCOME HOME'[16] These early migrants were greeted by officials of both central and local government, and by industry and the service sector who were desperate for labour, but they were also confronted with the most appalling racial prejudice and discrimination, made all the more painful by their totally unrealistic expectations.[17] Subsequent immigration fluctuated with the demand for labour and the booms and slumps in the British economy, until in the 18 months before immigration controls were introduced in 1962, net arrivals amounted to 98,000 persons from the Caribbean.[18] Since 1962 successive Immigration and Nationality Acts have made it increasingly difficult for black people to enter Britain.

For most, Britain was not the 'land of promise' they had been led to expect. One of the black pastors living in Wolverhampton told me:

> When I left Jamaica and come here I have a lovely job - I regret I ever leave it. I used to work for the bauxite company. When I went back there six years ago and see the boys I left there, they are better off than me... They lay us off and they says to me, says we must not leave the country because they soon want us back. But the trouble is when we in Jamaica and we take a paper and we listen what coming from England here. Is like they begging you to come - jobs! jobs! jobs! jobs! When I come here, tell my wife I wouldn't stay long. I said, "I think I might

> spend a short time and come back because every morning you get the paper and see: good jobs are going in England - jobs! jobs! jobs! jobs!... When I come I find [it] was different.[19]

Although the vast majority came primarily for economic reasons, a powerful secondary attraction for those arriving later was the fact that many had relatives already settled in Britain.[20]

In the early stages of immigration, a very high proportion of skilled men arrived - some 64% in 1953-55 - and continued to do so throughout the 1950s.[21] This percentage decreased as numbers grew but in 1962 half of those entering the country had received some form of vocational training. Only a small number were unemployed in the West Indies - some 12% in 1961 - and, as it cost the equivalent of half a year's unskilled worker's wage to purchase a ticket to the United Kingdom, it seems probable that the employed, the enterprising and the least hedonistic would be most likely to make the journey.[22]

In the early 1950s there was a preponderance of men migrating. Later in the 50's many wives came to join their menfolk as did many unmarried women who, as single parents, came to work in order to support children who were left in the care of their grandmothers back in Jamaica. Over two-thirds of these early female immigrants became part of the labour force. From the 60's the number of children entering the country increased as parents saved the money

and obtained the accommodation necessary to reunite the family. Sadly, many of these children are still in Jamaica as some parents failed to obtain the necessary finance and accommodation for them.[23] Because Wolverhampton received a higher proportion of dependants of the initial male settlers before the 1960s than did most other regions, this led to the earlier development of family stability, a sense of community, of permanence and of the black Pentecostal congregations.[24]

Of the 92% who claimed some religious affiliation, 54% were attenders and 16% members of Christian denominations. A significant number were Pentecostals and some had been ordained into the ministry in Jamaica or the United States.[25]

On their arrival, rural Jamaicans were cast into an anomic and alien environment. One pastor remembers:

> The fist thing that shock me was the houses. When I saw the chimney then I thought they all were factories!... When I come here and see the fire in the house - coal fire - I says, "Why?" - it was strange to me. And when I go to the shops and the shop door close. You have to open the door and go in. In Jamaica now, if they open the shop, they just leave the door open until closing time.[26]

Of a more serious nature, was the sense of shock which Jamaican Christians experienced on discovering that England - their mother country - was not the great Christian nation they had been brought up to believe in. It was the pubs rather than the churches which were full! As Clifford Hill

has noted, Jamaicans

> ...speak of their shock and bewilderment upon discovering that England was not the Mecca of Christianity that they had always believed.

This discovery, as Hill goes on to point out,

> ...is a major cause of many migrants' lapse of faith.. It is like discovering that one's mother is a liar and a hypocrite.[27]

John Wilkinson correctly notes that:

> Black immigrants had a mostly uncritical acceptance of their colonial identity, secular and ecclesial. They met not only the rejection of their common secular citizenship but the great shock of British Christianity in decay - especially the hard-pressed and insecure inner-city congregations where (with rare exceptions) black Christians were greeted with a humiliating rejection.[28]

Hill concludes that his (1963) research in London

demonstrates

> ...the serious effect of the migration to Britain upon the religious life of West Indians. The impact of their coming to this country, of housing, of industrial conditions that they met, of the quality of their reception into the church in Britain and the general attitude of the indigenous population towards them, are all factors tending to discourage the continuing practise of their faith by Christians from the West Indies.[29]

David Pearson found in the early 1970s that more than 90% of black people in an industrial city claimed to have attended church at least once a month in the Caribbean. Less than half continued to do so in Britain, and many who did were in Pentecostal congregations.[30]

While there has been a rejection of those mainstream denominations which generally failed to welcome them, the pullulation of black-majority Pentecostal and Holiness

congregations testifies to the ongoing Christian commitment of many of these early migrant workers.

Most of them perceived themselves as coming to labour in Britain for a few years and then returning home to the Caribbean. This myth of returning has, however, been overwhelmed by the economic and social realities which tie people to their new lives in Britain. While many of the first generation visit their families in Jamaica - particularly when members have life-threatening illnesses - this only acts as a reminder that for most of them their standard of living "back 'ome" would be much lower than in Britain. The majority, like the second generation who were born and raised in Britain, are here to stay.

Notes and References

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There have been black people in Britain since the 3rd Century AD. See especially Fryer, Peter, **Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain**, London: Pluto Press, 1984, passim.

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See also Mason, pp.276-279.

4. Smith, Ashley, in , Idris Hamid (Ed), **Troubling the Waters**, San Fernando, Trinidad: Rahaman Printery, 1973, p 44.

5. Mason, Ibid.
Price, p.7.
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6. Rose, E.J.B.; Deakin, Nicholas; Abrams, Mark; Jackson, Valerie; Peston, Maurice; Vanags, A.H.; Cohen, Brian; Gaitskell, Julia; Ward, Paul, **Colour and Citizenship, A Report on British Race Relations**, London:Oxford University Press, for IRR, 1969, pp.49-51.

7. Price, p.10.

8. Hansard, Vol 460, HMSO, 4th February,1949, Col 2019.

9. Price, pp.8,9.
Changes have taken place in Jamaica under the former Prime Minister, Michael Manley who, speaking to the World Council of Churches in Nairobi in 1975, said: "If Capitalism was the engine that lifted man to new levels of economic and technological progress, it was equally the burial ground of his moral integrity. And as if the moral consequences of capitalism were not sufficiently disasterous for its supposed beneficiaries and all others who were caught up in

its system, it also proceeded historically in harness with that twin steed of ill fortune and oppression, imperialism. For imperialism was the means by which capitalism reproduced internationally all that it has done to human experience within national boundaries." Manley, Michael, **From the Shackles of Domination and Oppression**, address document No.1, Nairobi, Kenya: World Council of Churches 5th Assembly, 23rd November to 10th December, 1975, pp4,5.

10. Ibid. pp.9,10.

11. Naipaul, V.S., **The Middle Passage**, Andre Deutsch, 1962, pp.215-216., quoted in Price, p.12.
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12. Rose, et al, p.45

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About 7,000 West Indians served in the RAF during the Second World War.
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16. **Evening Standard**, No 38, 608, 12th June, 1948.

17. Fryer, pp372, 374.

18. Rose, et al, pp.66,67.
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In 1948, 492 passengers arrived on board the SS Empire Windrush. Most of them were from Jamaica. Later that year a further 108 arrived. By 1951 this had increased to about 1,750 a year from the West Indies.

19. Interview B20.

20. A sample study carried out in 1962 found that over 70% of West Indian migrants had relatives in their country of destination, and about 50% (most of whom were women) had partners there.
Rose, et al, pp.65-68.

21. In the 1943 census of Jamaica only 18% were skilled workers compared with 64% who came to Britain in the years 1953-55.
Rose, et al, pp.49-51.

22. The Economist Intelligence Unit Survey in 1961 found that 12% of a sample of 603 West Indians had been unemployed before leaving the West Indies.
Rose, et al, p.50.

23. Hill, Clifford, **West Indian Migrants and the London Churches**, Oxford University Press, for IRR, 1963, pp.39-41.
Deakin, pp.34,35,145.

24. Ayre, Geoffrey, in **Wolverhampton Chronicle**, 10th April, 1959.

25. Hill, pp.4,5.

26. Interview B20.

27. Hill, p.6.

28. Wilkinson, John, 'Black Christianity in Britain: Survival or Liberation?' in **International Review of Mission**, Vol LXXV, No 297, January 1986.

29. Hill, p.28.

30. Pearson, David, cited in Walton, Heather, et al, **Black People in British Methodism**, London: Ethnic Minorities in Methodism Working Group, 1985, p 1.

CHAPTER FOUR

BLACK IMMIGRANTS, RACISM AND THE WHITE CHURCHES

> ...a sceptic world notes... that the organisation which is loudest in its praise of brotherhood and most critical of race and class discriminations in other spheres is the most disunited group of all, nurturing in its own structure that same spirit of division which it condemns in other relations.
> – H Richard Niebuhr

Not only were settlers from the Caribbean confronted with prejudice, racism and discrimination in the secular areas of employment, housing and social relationships, but most of the white-led churches also failed them by simply reflecting the values and hostility of our fundamentally racist society. In **The Social Sources of Denominationalism**, Richard Niebuhr goes on to state that:

> The church which began its career with the promise of peace and brotherhood for a distracted world has accepted the divisions of the society it had hoped to transform and has championed the conflicts it had thought to transcend. It began its mission with the heroic proclamation of a new humanity 'where there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman,' but where Christ is all and in all...' The old vision of the time when the kingdom of this world should be transformed into a kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ has faded into the light of a common day in which the brute facts of an unchanging human nature, of the invincible fortifications of economic and political society, of racial pride, economic self-interest and 'Realpolitik' appear in their grim reality.1

Nowhere in the recent history of the Church in Britain have these criticisms been more clearly demonstrated than in the

response - or lack of response - of the white-led churches to the arrival of their black brethren from the West Indies

a. TESTIMONIES TO FAILURE

"To come to England was to come to the fountain head of religious life," writes Martin Simmonds, bishop of the First United Church of Jesus Christ Apostolic. However, Simmonds continues: "The new settlers were frozen out of the churches of which they had been members all their lives in the Caribbean."2 Ira Brookes, who is now a minister with the New Testament Church of God, writes of his first impressions of Britain and of the established church:

> I quickly sought out the Anglican Church. I was a stranger and they offered nothing, absolutely nothing... Arriving with the warmth of the church I have known, I thought the church especially the church would have taken me in. Perhaps back home it was my local church where everybody knew everybody. I don't know. But here it was just a blank grey situation, just like the weather. Everybody was cold, the people, the atmosphere. One of my first experiences was chilling.3

John Wilkinson records the following accounts which are typical of the negative treatment received by many black Christians in Anglican churches:

> On my first Sunday in Birmingham my friends and I, we put on our best suits and went to church. But after the service the vicar told us not to come again. His congregation wouldn't like it, he said.
>
> I went to church. After the service I shook hands with the vicar and gave him a letter of recommendation from my parish priest at home. We chatted for a while. When I came back next Sunday he completely ignored me, and never spoke to me again. I stopped going soon after

> I was the only black person in the church. Nobody spoke to me. It was dreadful...
>
> The first year they ignored you, the second year they ignored you, the third year they asked you to buy a raffle ticket.[4]

The other denominations were little or no better. Cardinal Hume's Advisory Group on the Catholic Church's commitment to the black community state that:

> Black Catholics are not involved in any real and meaningful way in the decision making process of the Church at any level: parochial, deanery and diocesan... Many black people we met expressed great anger and frustration at clearly identifiable racism within the [Roman Catholic] Church.[5]

An engaged black Methodist couple went to worship at a Methodist church in Wolverhampton and to ask the minister to marry them. When they sat in an empty pew they were promptly asked to move to one further back. When they did so, the white people got up and sat elsewhere. "People did not want to sit next to you because you were black... they thought you were dirty." They did not return. Some years ago that Methodist church was closed and demolished—because of falling attendance. Today this black couple pastor a Pentecostal congregation of about a hundred in a nearby town and have recently purchased a disused Methodist church building to house their growing membership.[6] Another black woman visited a Methodist church in London. On her way out after the service a white member turned to her and said, "Get out you black bastard!" She got out and did not return.[7]

Not only did members of the mainstream denominations visit

white churches during the early years of settlement. Many black Pentecostals, lacking their own congregations, also went to worship with whites. One black woman, now minister of a large and flourishing Pentecostal congregation, told me:

> There were a lot of the Church of God people, both Church of God of Prophecy and New Testament that arrived in the country, and not having anywhere to worship they would go to the white people church - you were not welcome![9]

Another black pastor told me that even in the white Pentecostal churches they still perceived a lack of acceptance:

> [I]n many of them, you are not welcome. I find the Assembly of God [in Wolverhampton] they are different. Pastor Pepper [formerly minister of the AoG in Wolverhampton] is a very nice man. But I visited other [white] Pentecostal [congregations] but you don't feel you are welcome. Coloured or a black man - you're not really welcome.[9]

The majority of black Christians who visited white churches were simply ignored, a few were greeted with extreme hostility and a few were actually made to feel welcome. Anglican Bishop, Tony Dumper correctly admits that, "... White churches largely ignored the arrival of Christians from the New Commonwealth during the years of immigration."[10]

Writing in the early sixties, Clifford Hill noted that a decade had not significantly changed the unwillingness or inability of the mainstream denominations to respond positively to black people. "The church," he wrote,

> is not managing to break down the barriers of

> mistrust or misunderstanding that may have been created in the minds of the migrants. She is failing to undo the harm being done by the indifference and agnosticism of the majority of English people in present-day Britain.11

While it is true that some individual ministers and congregations did put their concern into action, the vast majority have been conspicuous for their inactivity.

Even with the establishment of black-majority Pentecostal congregations, there was little help from white-majority churches. One pastor told me:

> We suffered a lot. I remember when Deacon Douglas die, we didn't have a church building and I asked the Baptist Church, if we could use the church for the funeral service. The minister said, "No - why don't you have it where you worship?" He said, "Colleagues wouldn't let me do that." However, when I came here, a Catholic priest, he let me use the school there for the service. I had good help from the Salvation Army too. When Captain Harvey - a Yorkshireman - let me hold services. But when Captain Harvey left, one of the seniors came from Birmingham. We were worshipping there one night and he say, "What you doing here!" So I said, "Well, Captain Harvey..." he said to me, "if the authorities from Birmingham ever come and find you here..." And that was one of the things that drove [us] to seek a place; to establish ourselves.12

Another black minister related:

> The vicar used to invite us over and we went over, the whole church and we invite him and his congregation and only he alone come. No one else. When he invited us we all went and we share whatsoever. But when we invite them they wouldn't come.13

These sentiments are repeated again and again with depressing regularity:

> I discover that many of these [white] churches they have many meetings and invite us - the coloured ministers - talking about come together. But you have any special meeting and you invite their

> congregation and the pastor and one might come and always uneasy - always ready to go because they have no time to come. You always find time [for them].[14]

While styles of worship which are both Pentecostal and Caribbean, and the length of services are clearly disincentives to white attendance, there is also evidence of considerable arrogance and racism in many white congregations. Yet their has been no shortage of statements and documents on racial tolerance emanating from the churches. The British Council of Churches Community and Race Relations Unit, the Board of Social Responsibility of the Church of England, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, Cardinal Hume's Advisory Group on the Catholic Church's commitment to the black community, The Catholic Association for Racial Justice, The Methodist Church Division for Social Responsibility and the Ethnic Minorities in Methodism Working Group, the Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends, Evangelical Christians for Racial Justice and various other nonconformist bodies have all published anti-racism material, but relevant action at the point of need in the inner city has been extremely rare.[15] Furthermore, although concerned individuals and committees have responded by publishing documents which address the problems faced by black people in Britain, a more general recognition of their presence and significance is often lacking. In 1983 Paul Welshy's book, **A History of the Church of England 1945-80,** was published. It made no mention of Black Anglicans, while John Tiller's **A Strategy for the Church's Ministry,** also

published in 1983, refers to black people only as "losers in the urban race" and as Pentecostals.16 Ironically, the first, and to date the only, comprehensive regional survey of Black Anglicans was produced by Renate Wilkinson - a German Lutheran!17 And while Kenneth Leech's excellent book, **Struggle in Babylon**, addresses the issues with clarity and conviction, it is itself and indictment of the institutionalised racism which is endemic in the Church of England.18

It is not surprising then, that communicant membership of the Anglican Church, which had been 24% in the West Indies, fell to a mere 3% of the Caribbean population in London in the early sixties, compared with about 21% membership for the white population.19 What is surprising is that, inspite of everything, black people still attend white-led churches. In Birmingham the Black Anglican attendance is currently about 7% of total attendance compared with the fact that black people of Caribbean origin only comprise about 5.5% of the population in the city.20 These figures are indicative of the situation in all of the major denominations. On the other hand, nationally there are about 84,500 black Christians who are adherents of black-majority congregations which are of the Pentecostal type, of which almost 60,000 are explicitly Pentecostal. However, as we shall see later, the growth of the black-led churches is not merely a reaction to the failure of the white denominations.

b. RACIAL PREJUDICE, RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

Why have the major white-led denominations failed so miserably? The answer is found at least partly, in the widespread racial prejudice, racism and discrimination which is endemic in British society and which has been largely mirrored in the churches.

Racial discrimination may be defined as **behaviour** which treats people less favourably on the basis of their perceived membership of a particular racial or ethnic group. Such behaviour may spring from either racial prejudice or from racism. Racial prejudice is a largely irrational and often subconscious hostility towards people who are believed to belong to another race or ethnic group. Its roots may lie, not only in socialised norms and values but also in the collective unconscious of white society. As such, it is a matter of **attitude** which may or may not manifest itself in discrimination. Racism is a set of **beliefs**, often based on, or justified by, pseudo-scientific arguments which attribute negative characteristics and inherent inferiority - biological or cultural - to individuals or groups on the basis of their perceived race or ethnicity. As such, racism is an ideology which often seeks to legitimise and even to advocate the denegration and exploitation of people. Racism effects - indeed largely determines - black peoples' relationship to the means of production. In the post-imperial Britain of the

1950s to 1980s this has meant that black people have been used as 'reserve army of labour' to be exploited during economic booms and disposed of during slumps. Black people, however, don't just simply go away during times of high unemployment.

Both prejudice and racism are often internalised as culturally approved attitudes through the process of socialisation.21 Neither prejudice nor racism, however, necessarily result in discrimination, for attitudes and beliefs are not invariably demonstrated in behaviour. Furthermore, apparent acts of discrimination may not always stem from prejudice or racism although such acts may be justified in terms of some racist ideology.

Pierre Louis Van den Berghe has made it clear that the ideological underpinning of racism can be the product of status differences which already exist and require justification or legitimisation. Such conditions are met when populations are brought into contact as a result of voluntary or forced migration.22 For Britain, the imperial racism of the past could be re-worked in order both to justify and help to perpetuate the black settler's underclass status. During the colonial era the dominant trend was to denigrate subject peoples as ignorant and uncivilised, heathen and, of course, unchristian, and their societies and cultures as both inferior and in need of being conformed to Western patterns. Even such

egalitarians as Karl Marx and Max Webber shared the view that Oriental and Asiatic social forms were inherently inferior to those of the West.[23]

The Church, particularly the established state church, found justification for its paternalistic attitudes towards colonial peoples in such ideology. Loss of empire did not result immediately in a post-imperial mentality. On the contrary, it survives today among significant sections of the older generation, laity and clergy alike. For a sizeable proportion of both older and younger generations, however, imperial racism has been re-worked to legitimize the maintenance of an underclass status for black people by means of individual and institutionalised racism and discrimination. This is not to suggest, however, that all acts of racial discrimination are rooted in the prejudices or racism of individuals, for discrimination may simply be a manifestation of the desire to conform to society's norms and expectations in terms of one's role.[24] Such unprejudiced discriminators who give in to social pressure have been identified by Robert Merton and dubbed as "fair weather liberals."[25]

The discrimination endured by black people in Britain is also more than the twin problems of the adaption of immigrants to a new culture and environment and the gradual acceptance of them by the host society as they learn the implicit norms of that society.[26] If discrimination was

only rooted in these problems, which are faced by all immmigrants - both black and white - one would expect it to disappear with the second generation. People from the Caribbean are, however, not simply immigrants but **black** immigrants. That is to say, they are subjected to a racial discrimination and hostility which is rooted in, justified, and perpetuated by a racist ideology which ascerts the inate inferiority of black people.[27]

If there has been a lessening of racial discrimination and hostility in Britain - and it is by no means certain that there has - it is probably more explicable in terms of legal sanctions (The Race Relations Acts 1968 and 1976) than an abandonment of racist beliefs.[28] Racist ideology, which provided a justification for slavery and colonialism has been transformed into a post-colonial hostility against physically identifiable minorities who can be used as scapegoats for social ills. The complexities of social and economic forces which result in a scarcity of resources - particularly among the working class - can be ignored and the 'blame' attached to black people who have been accused of "taking our houses and jobs" while simultaneously "living on state handouts."

The oppression of black people during slavery, in situations of colonial rule and, more recently, in multi-cultural Britain, has never been limited to acts of physcial cruelty but invariably includes a racist ideology

by which whites have both defined what black people are and sought to force acceptance of that definition onto them. 'Evidence' is cited in support of such stereotypes. And such 'evidence' is not lacking, for the very ideology of racism ensures the perpetuation of those ideational, social and economic conditions which disadvantage black people, alienate them from the wider society and keep them in comparative poverty and unemployment. Under such conditions it is not surprising that examples of criminality, drug use, violence and living off social security can be found to 'support' negative racial stereotypes. Under such conditions, the a-typical is believed by many whites to be the norm and a vicious 'amplification spiral' is set up in which stereotypical labels are attached to black people in such a way that the behaviour of whites towards them impells some to reinforce negative definitions by acting in the 'anti-social' ways expected of them. Such acts further reinforce racist beliefs and the amplification spiral continues with some black people internalising the negative definitions imposed upon them by the dominant white society.

The ideology of racism, in the very warp and wolf of white society, contaminates the thinking and self perceptions of many black people but fails to totally dominate them. While many, for example, continue to despise the African elements in their culture or to judge others more beautiful because of 'European' features, pale skin or straight hair

there are also counter-ideologies which challenge the hegemony of both blatant and subtle racism. Within the black Pentecostal worshipping communities one finds positive self-definitions which spring from other interpretations of reality. Here are real people; people in their own right; people who are themselves; who affirm each other and are affirmed by each other. Some internalisation of racist stereotypes and ideology - which rob people of both dignity, individuality and historical identity - remain but their hegemony is broken and the power of ideological domination is undermined to the extent that the black Pentecostal congregation - or individuals from it - are psychologically liberated to challenge the social, economic and political status quo.[29] The counter-ideologies of the black Pentecostals are considered in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Peter Fryer summarises the anti-black prejudices which were common among the white population in the early 1950's:

> They saw them as heathens who practised head-hunting, cannibalism, infanticide, polygamy, and 'black magic'. They saw them as uncivilized, backward people, inherently inferior to Europeans, living in primitive mud huts 'in the bush', wearing few clothes, eating strange foods, and suffering from unpleasant diseases. They saw them as ignorant and illiterate, speaking strange languages, and lacking proper education. They believed that black men had stronger sexual urges than white men, were less inhibited, and could give greater satisfaction to their sexual partners. Half of this prejudiced two-thirds were, to be sure, only 'mildly' prejudiced. The other half were extremely so. This deeply prejudiced third of the white population strongly resisted the idea of having any contact or communication with black people; objected vehemently

> to mixed marriages; would not have black people in their homes as guests or lodgers; would not work with them in factory or office; and generally felt that black people should not be allowed in Britain at all.[30]

From a handful of academics and politicians, including several small and vociferous neo-facist groups, emanated a steady stream of racist propaganda. Since 1960 Professor R.Gayre and a veritable constellation of other academics have published the racist **Mankind Quarterly**. Gayre himself believes that "one should be able to discriminate on the grounds of race and colour" [31] and backs up this position with articles which speak of "Negro children" as academically inferior "scrambling along behind and trying to keep up with white children "[32] He also maintains that, "The Negroes have never shown interest in invention and creative work."[33] And that,

> There is no example of a Negro nation that has in any way contributed to Western Cultural civilisation or to modern man.[34]

Gayre and other contributors to **Mankind Quarterly** also refer to and highly recommend the writings of the Nazi race scientist Hans F.K. Gunther.[35]

One of Britain's most influential psychologists, Hans J. Eysenk - who also writes for **Mankind Quarterly** - published **Race Intelligence and Education**, in 1971, supporting the theory that IQ is largely genetically determined and that blacks are inherently inferior in intelligence.[36] It is not, therefore, surprising that there is a tendency for many teachers to stereotype black pupils as

under-achievers.

In 1952, Conservative politician, Sir Cyril Osborne had begun a campaign for the legislative control of immigration from the Commonwealth and punctuated his arguments with racist comments:

> "This is a white man's country and I want it to remain so.[37]

> Those who so vehemently denounce the slogan 'Keep Britain White' should answer the question, do they want it to turn black? If unlimited immigration were allowed we should ultimately become a chocolate coloured, Afro-Asian mixed society. That I do not want.[38]

Another Conservative, Birmingham City Councillor Charles Collett, stated that:

> Colour discrimination springs from... a genuine desire to protect our own people, which in no sense violates Christian teaching. Some of our Birmingham folk, and these merit most consideration, have nowhere to run, others have no desire to leave home because of foreign pressure. When will this city awake to the menace of coloured infiltration and a piebald population?"[39]

And John Saunders declared that it was "un-Christian to let in more immigrants."[40]

On the other side of the House, some Labour MPs like George Rogers were equally hostile to black immigration:

> The Government must introduce legislation quickly to end the tremendous influx of coloured people from the Commonwealth... Overcrowding has fostered vice, drugs, prostitution and the use of knives. For years white people have been tolerant. Now their tempers are up.[41]

Another, Frank Tommey, speaking about the immigration of black people to Britain, declared:

> The coloured races will exceed the white races in a few years' time by no less than five to one. This will be a formidable problem for the diminishing numbers of the white races throughout the world... There is the constant dread of the people that the immigrants are seemingly better served than the indigenous population.[42]

On the lunatic fringes of British politics were the small violently racist, neo-facist organisations like the National Front and National Party. According to them, there is an international Jewish conspiracy to promote the immigration, integration and inter-marriage of black people with the indigenous population in order to produce a genetically and intellectually inferior race which will be easier to control and dominate. The Front advocated the repatriation of all black people including those with one black grandparent.[43] Some, like John Tyndall, went even further:

> When we come to power, all black people will be sent out of the country, back to where they come from... no matter how long or for how many generations they have lived in our country, they will be repatriated.[44]

Until repatriation had been completed, race laws forbidding sexual relationships between whites and non-whites would be enacted, blacks would be held in transit camps pending deportation and there would probably be a programme of compulsory sterilisation "to prevent procreation on the part of all who have hereditary defects, either racial, mental or physical."[45]

While such extreme views were only held by a small

minority, the use of black people as scapegoats for social ills and the idea that 'the problem' was caused by too many black migrants being allowed into the country had become politically respectable among the Conservatives by 1961, and the following year a Conservative Government passed the Immigration Act designed to reduce numbers inspite of the fact that Britain was still short of workers.[46] By 1964, the Labour Party, which had hitherto opposed controls, was also succumbing to public opinion and even critisizing the Tories for 'failing to control black immigration'.[47] Thus from the mid 60's the political consensus in Britain was that the immigration of black people created social problems and that black people themselves were 'a problem' rather than the racist attitudes of the wider society.

In the 1970s many of those parliamentary constituencies with the highest proportion of black citizens also registered the largest number of votes for candidates with extremely racist views.[48]

While many churchmen were concerned for the welfare of these settlers from the New Commonwealth, the majority also shared the view that the root cause of 'the problem' was the arrival of "too many black people." One elder of an evangelical church was fairly typical of about a third of church members when he said, "Blacks are lazy and feckless and only come here to scrounge off the social security."[49]

A white Pentecostal pastor I interviewed told me that he believed West Indian and African people to be not only genetically different but also intellectually inferior to whites, and that the Negro races - descended from Ham - became slaves to the Arabs - the descendants of Shem - and the Anglo-Saxon Europeans - the descendants of Japeth - in fulfilment of the curse pronounced by Noah in Genesis chapter nine. Because, according to this minister, Negroes "learn very slowly, if at all" and are "not original thinkers" they do "extremely well in conjunction with Arabs or Europeans but especially [in conjunction with] the white man." However, according to him, the Negroes have also been the recipients of a special blessing in that they are "more open to spiritual influences" than other races. However, this privilege turns out to be something of a mixed blessing because their "openess" or "naivety" also makes them "more prone to demon possession."[50]

This is not to suggest that most white clergy were consciously racist. While a few obviously were, the majority were not so much lacking in good will as wrapped up in the concerns of their white parishoners and locked into their own mono-cultural understanding of Christianity. Racism, furthermore, was not often perceived as their problem. Most were blind both to the complicity of white Christianity in denegrating black people, supporting a racist status quo and to the gospel-denying neglect of their welfare.

Part of the ideology encountered by black people, both in Jamaica and in Britain, was the image of the white Anglo-Saxon Christ. Writing out of his experience in the American situation, historian Vincent Harding protests:

> He condemned us for our blackness, for our flat noses, for our kinky hair, for our power, our strange power of expressing emotion in singing and shouting and dancing. He was sedate, so genteel, so white. And as soon as we were able, many of us tried to be like him.51

This ideological image has been internalised by many black people but it stands in sharp contradiction to the immanent Christ who is experienced in the presence and power of the Spirit and expressed in liturgical behaviour which horrifies many of the whites who have created a Christ in their own image. Their white Christ is often a conservative and remote figure compared to the immanent Christ of the black Christian who shares in their sufferings and offers them power to overcome. Thus, while there often remains within the black individual an acute disjunction between the internalised Christ of white ideology and the pneumatic Christ of black experience, the primacy of experience over ideology in the black Pentecostal congregations results in the white image of Christ becoming less relevant and being at least partly transformed into a figure which is less easily identified with white hegemony.

It is difficult for people to love and respect both

themselves and those in their ethnic community if the image of the perfect person which they have internalised is so different from themselves both in appearance and demeanour. However, the image of the white Christ begins to lose credibility when those who bear the same Anglo-Saxon image that He has had projected onto him prove themselves to be His enemies and the persecutors of His black brethren. Under such circumstances, love for the Christ of white ideology has often given way to love for the Christ of experience who affirms, if not the appearance of black people at least their expression, creativity, artistry and sense of community as somehow characteristic of Himself.

Not only was personal prejudice and racism a cause of the white churches' discriminatory failure to respond as they should to the arrival of black Christians but there were also institutional reasons. Racism is more than an individual phenomenon. Institutional racism is embedded in all of the social, economic and political structures of Britain. It affects everything: education, employment, housing, access to social and economic facilities, policy, the justice system and the churches. Church of England minister, John Wilkinson, writes that:

> Anglican immigrants to Birmingham encountered their church at its weakest, mainly in the churches of the inner city which had been subjected to radical social change, and were in a state of rapid decline. Clergy and laity were therefore insecure, uncertain and defensive. This made them hold onto the power and authority that was still in their hands. They were unable to share it with the newcomers...[51]

In fact, the inability of the Church of England to relate to black proletarians was to some extent simply an extention of its inability to relate to the idigenous working class. Kenneth Leech writes that:

> The Church of England as an institution is an integral part of the ruling class, maintained and administered by the middle class and seeking to minister to the working class and the poor... the Church does not relate in any fundamental way to the needs of working-class people. It was, and for the most part remains, an alien institution, which seeks to minister to a community which it does not understand and with which it has never really identified... the Church of England['s]... entire ethos is bound up with the preservation of the stable order, with the monarchy, with the 'establishment' and with the structure of capitalism. In a class society, a racist society, a society rooted in hierarchy and inequality, this is bound to mean that the Church of England will be a class Church, a racist Church, and a Church which, in it's own life reflects and reinforces the inequalities of the dominant society.[52]

The Church of England was always a middle-class institution in working class areas. With the arrival of Anglican Christians from the Caribbean it often became a racist institution unwilling to share power or leadership with its black 'pew fillers'.

The black Pentecostal churches have grown in England partly because of the failure or inability of the white dominated denominations to relate to the deeper - often unconscious - needs of black people, and to the level of the collective, community experience of participative worship. Nor have the white churches - by and large - been able to transcend their ethnocentrism and social exclusivity which denies -

or at least fails to confirm - the common humanity and **imago dei** of all people and the brotherhood of all Christians.

c. BLACK EXPECTATION AND THE ENGLISH TEMPERMENT

Even when personal and institutionalised racism was not a major factor, the way white Christians responded to their black brethren was not condusive to the development of meaningful relationships. This was partly because people from the West Indies - and black Christians in particular - had unrealistically high expectations of British society and the white-led churches. Because of their experiences in a colonial education system and their perception of Britain as the "mother country" they regarded themselves, not as strangers, but as "kinds of Englishmen".[53] In the Caribbean most of the British they were in contact with were middle-class professionals: educators and clergymen. Many arrived here believing that all Englishmen would be like these. The gospel had been propagated in the English speaking Caribbean by British missionaries and an unrepresentative number of the white people which they met in the West Indies were Christians involved in Church work. This, not surprisingly, led to the mistaken belief that Britain was a largely Christian country with full and thriving churches. Confronted with working-class racism and near empty inner-city churches, black Christians were deeply shocked and felt that they had been deceived.[54]

The white workmates of many black Christians mocked their faith in God and their church attendance. The black person who bore witness to his Christianity or read his Bible durig tea breaks was liable to be jeered at. Black settlers were treated with hostility because of their colour, their culture, their language and even their faith. When black people did meet white Christians they discovered that the majority of them were less than enthusiastic about their faith and many were nominal or even agnostic.

This was exacerbated by the cultural temperament of white Christians which Hill describes as "the traditional English conservatism" which means that "English people do not normally welcome strangers with open arms" when they come to church.[55] A few were of course welcome and a few were subjected to racist abuse but the vast majority of black people who visited a white-led church in the 50s and early 60s were likely to be stared at but otherwise ignored. This was not the treatment black Christians were used to. One black pastor told me:

> When I was at home in Jamaica and we have a service going, and we should see anybody - an Indian or a white or an African, anybody; a strange person - come to our church, we would acknowledge that one... it might have been our custom.[56]

Other factors which worked agaist the development of close relationships were the different interests of black and white Christians which sprang from their different stages in the life cycle. Most migrants in the 50s were young -

in their twentys - and soon they had young families to bring up. Often both partners were employed and many did shift work, night work, or worked at weekends. These commitments of family and employment greatly restricted their free time. On the other hand, many of the white congregations were elderly. Thus there was often an unfortunate correlation between colour, age, interests and leisure time which further exacerbated divisions.[57]

Associated to some extent with the cultural temperament of English reserve was the way black people perceived the white churches as "cold and dead". But these negative evaluations were also related to the disjunctins between black and white pneumatology, liturgy and sense of community.

d. PNEUMATOLOGY, LITURGY AND COMMUNITY

It was not until the mid 1960s that the Charismatic movement within the mainstream denominations had any noticable impact, and by then it was too late to rectify the first impressions of many black Chriistians who perceived the white churches as totally unspiritual. For most black Christians the immanence of God is to be experienced in a liturgy which involves the emotions and the body as well as the intellect. Only such holistic worship can invoke the presence of the Holy Spirit in such a way as to bring life and love and power into the congregation in a recognisable form. 'The liturgy of the

white churches, on the other hand was almost exclusively cerebral and often concerned with maintaining a sense of the transcendence of God.

For most black people in the Caribbean, there are very close ties with the community of which the churches are often the centre. This sense of community is very much stronger than that which is generally found among the British working-class and quite antithetical to the radical individualism of the middle-class and aspiring working-class who comprise the bulk of church membership in England.[58] Furthermore, although many church buildings were located in the run-down inner-city areas where migrants first obtained accommodation, the white congregations of a lot of these churches were former residents who now commuted in from the more solubrious suburbs. Thus there was often no geogrophial sense of Christian community which embraced both black and white.[59]

Associated with the importance of community is the opportunity to participate in the life and worship of the church. Such opportunities were generally denied black Christians, not only because of prejudice and racism in both personal and institutional forms, but also because it is neither customary in England for newcomers to have responsibility thrust upon them nor is it common for white 'non-professional' Christians to participate in worship and church work to the degree black Christians do in the

Caribbean.[60]

By the mid 1980s, the established church had over 35 years to do something about it, but the situation, if we take Birmingham as an example, is that inspite of the fact that 47% of the churches have black members and 7% of their regular attenders are black, this is not reflected in leadership, with only one black stipendary and five black non-stipendary ministers for more than 135 congregations.[61]

Renate Wilkinson sums up the situation:

> Few Black Anglicans participate in the spiritual leadership (ordained or otherwise) of their church and its teaching ministry. Black Anglicans are under-represented in the decision-making councils of the church... Few black people hold jobs in local churches. Black adult members do not participate fully in the organisational life of their church.[62]

The end result of these and other less significant factors is that the white-led denominations in Britain generally failed to make black Christians feel welcome and accepted as brothers and sisters in Christ. By and large, the white dominated churches of the 50s and 60s reflected the prejudice and racism of the wider society. Many of them felt insecure and powerless themselves and structures were such that racism was institutionalised. The temperamental conservatism of most whites ensured that black people received a less than rapturous welcome, and demographic factors often meant that common interests and time were lacking. Added to this was the absence in the white churches of many of those elements which black Christians perceived as concomitant hallmarks of authentic faith and

spirituality: demonstrable love, life and spiritual power; a high degree of Christian committment; a strong sense of community and full opportunity to participate in that community at every level.

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50. Interview W25.

51. Leech, pp 14,15, 19,20.

52. Wilkinson, **Inheritors**, p 13.

53. Fryer, p 374.

54. Hill, **Migrants**, p 34.

55. Ibid.

56. Interview B6.

57. See Ward, Robin H., 'Some Aspects of Religious Life in an Immigrant Area in Manchester' in Martin, David and Hill, Michael, **A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain**, Vol 3, London:SCM PRESS, 1970, pp 17,18.

58. On the collectivistic and individualistic values associated with the working and middle class respectively see Goldthorpe, J.H. and Lockwood, D., 'Affluence and the British Class Structure' in Butterworth, Eric and Weir, David, **The Sociology of Modern Britain**, Glasgow: Collins, 1976, pp 311-318

59. See Ward, p 17.

60. Hill, **Migrants**, p 34.

61. Wilkinson, Renate, 'A Chance to Change' in Wilkinson, Wilkinson and Evans op cit, pp 22-25.

62. Ibid p 28.

CHAPTER FIVE

BLACK PEOPLE IN WOLVERHAMPTON

> One of the mistakes that caused our downfall at the beginning: we were thinking of back-home too much... In the middle sixties we began to say, "Well, since we not going on back for now, we might as well set down some roots."
> - Pastor of a black Pentecostal church in Wolverhampton.

The transplantation, pullulation and subsequent development of black Pentecostalism in Britain should be understood within the context of the social, economic, political and ideological environment in which it has flourished. Like an alpine plant or the fauna of some inhospitable desert, the black Pentecostal movement has thrived in a situation of extreme hardship and drawn sustenance, not primarily from its hostile habitat but from the secret wells of the black worshipping community. This chapter is simply a description of the West Midland borough in which black Pentecostalism first took root and established itself.

a. BLACK PEOPLE FOR SALE OR SLAUGHTER

There are isolated cases of Africans in Britain from as early as Roman times. The Emperor, Septimus Severus is recorded as having met an "Ethiopian soldier, famous among buffoons and always a notable jester" outside the walls of Carlisle about the year 210AD. The Emporor was less than amused by the African's religious buffoonery which involved

flourishing a garland of Cyprus boughs which were considered to be sacred to Pluto, god of the underworld.1 Other Negroes were captured in North Africa during a Viking raid in 862AD. These "Moors" were taken to Ireland where they were known as the "blue men".2 During the 16th century, Negroes were in positions of respect in the Scotish court and served the English nobility. Others fell foul of the building regulations in London and had their houses demolished.3 In 1596 and 1601 Queen Elizabeth I commanded that "Negroes and blackamoors... be with all speed avoided and discharged out of her majesty's realms".4

From the mid 17th century, Negro slaves were brought to Britain from Africa and from the West Indies, though these were mainly personal servants. The status of slaves in Britain was ambiguous, for although they were considered to be goods and chattels, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 guaranteed them basic human rights.5 Inspite of the Act, however, **The London Advertiser** of 1756 carried the following:

> To be sold, a Negro boy aged about 14 years old, warranted free from any distemper, and has had those fatal to that colour; has been used for two years to all kinds of household work, and to wait at table; his price is twenty-five pounds, and would not be sold but the person he belongs to is leaving off business. Apply at the bar of the George Coffee House in Chancery Lane, over against the gate.6.

Similarly, the **Public Ledger** of 1761 advertised:

> A healthy Negro girl, aged about fifteen years, speaks good English works at her needle, washes well, does household work, and has had the smallpox.7

In 1772 the Judge, Lord Mansfield, declared slavery to be illegal and estimated that their were 15,000 Africans in Britain, but other estimates put the figure at between fourteen and twenty thousand for London alone.8 Free Negores intermarried with the white population and, with some exceptions, generaally appear to have lived harmoniously in white society.9

The black people in Britain during the 18th century - particularly in London - had a strong sense of community and practised mutual aid and support.10

From the end of the 18th century African Chiefs began to send their sons to Britain and other European nations for an education. A black Nova Scotian, John Morrant, was ordained a minister by the Countess of Huntington's Connection and died in Islington in 1781.11 The earliest record of a black resident in the West Midlands, however, was a slave owned by the Shropshire Member of Parliament, Charles Mason. In 1704, when he was 10 years of age, the parish register records that he was baptised Charles Hector.12 Half a century later, black drummer-boys were "procured" for the Worcestershire Regiment, and Africans were serving as bandsmen during the first and last quarters of the 19th century.13 In 1846 the celebrated black actor, Ira Aldridge, who had made his first appearance on the London stage in 1825, performed in Wolverhampton.14

However, links between Africa, the Caribbean and the West Midlands were more economic than social. The Birmingham iron manufacturing industries exported their wares throughout the 18th and 19th centuries and sent some 150,000 guns a year to the West Coast of Africa where they were exchanged for slaves.15 They also produced the iron fetters, collars and padlocks used to restrain the unwilling human cargoes on the slave ships. In Sketchley's and Adams **Universal Directory** of 1770, Henry Waldram of Wolverhampton is listed as a "Negro Collar and Handcuff Maker". On the other hand, a few committed Christians raised their voices in opposition to slavery. As early as 1788 there was a society for the abolition of slavery started in Birmingham which involved ironmasters, industrialists, bankers and non-conformist clergy.

In 1825 the Ladies Negro's Friend Society was formed in nearby West Bromwich and held annual meetings throughout the West Midlands during its first decade. One of their leaflets concludes with the following appeal:

> Should any Lady become interested for her fellow-subjects, the British Slaves, and be inclined to "remember those in bonds as bound with them and those that suffer adversity, as being herself also in the body;" (Heb.XIII.3,) should she desire that her own sex may no longer be treated as brutes, no longer bought and sold, and marked like cattle... let her look around the circle of her own relatives and acquantance, to discover if there be not at least one person who may be awakened to compassionate, and assist, and plead for, our unhappy Slaves, who, living under our dominion, are not protected by our laws, but receive from civilised, enlightened, Christian, Britain, whatever is most painful, humiliating, and dishonouring in the bitter cup of

The passing of the second Emancipation Act of 1838 - which abolished the apprenticeship system which followed the 1833 Act - was celebrated in Birmingham by a service of thanksgiving, a procession, a public "meal of bread and beef" and the laying by Joseph Sturge of the foundation stone of new school rooms to be called the "Negro Emancipation School". During the proceedings the assembled throng sang:

> The trump of Freedom sounds -
> What bliss each note conveys,
> The Negro's heart with rapture bounds,
> His brow a smile displays.
>
> Joy to the slave redeem'd,
> From vile oppression's rod;
> Peace to his slaves, which long have teem'd
> With tortures and with blood.
>
> Welcome the morning's dawn,
> That first beheld him free;
> Welcome the sun that shines upon
> His new-born liberty!
>
> From earthly bondage freed
> To Christ his heart be given;
> Whose blood can make him free indeed,
> A citizen of Heaven![17]

However, in 1865 it was troops from the West Midlands, garrisoned in Trinidad, which were used to suppress the rebellion in Jamaica led by Paul Bogle.[18] One corporal wrote to his parents:

> ...we slotered all before us; we left neither man or woman or child, but we shot down to the ground. I must tell you that I never see a site like it before as we taken them prisoners by a hundred per day - we saved them for the next morning for to have some sport with them. We tied them up to a Tree and gave them 100 laishes, and afterwards put a shot into their heads... dear father and mother - I must tell you that I never see such a sight before in my

> travels. I seen from 50 tow 60 men shot and hung every morning of them.[19]

In the 1930s the first Jamaican settler of recent times arrived in Wolverhampton. He worked for the Municipal Baths and died in the late 1960s.[20]

Some of the migrant workers from the Caribbean, who were to begin arriving in Wolverhampton from 1948, had already lived in the Midlands during the war while serving in the Royal Air Force. Some had also experienced racial hostility which was never completely overcome by the solidarity engendered by a common enemy. The Wolverhampton **Express and Star** of 29th November 1945, carried the following report under the headline "W'ton Free For All After Remark To Coloured RAF Men":

> Four Wolverhampton men who were alleged by police to have caused a free-for-all fight with two coloured members of the RAF... were each fined .... by Wolverhampton Magistrates today... the coloured airmen, one from Bermuda and the other from Jamaica, were passing the corner where the four men... were talking. They used an objectionable expression... The RAF men turned, and there was a "free for all."

The chairman of the magistrates admonished the four whites: "You should have looked upon these men as comrades in arms."[21]

b. **IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT** (1948-1967)

Throughout the 1940s and 50s the town of Wolverhampton was undergoing an industrial and commercial transformation as the small metal-based and engineering firms were swallowed up by larger companies, especially foundries and a large

tyre factory. By 1961 only 5.7% worked in 'professional' services as compared to 56.7% in manufacturing. This increasing concentration of industry demanded labour at a time when it was in short supply.22 A feature writer in the **Express and Star** of January 1956 reflected this:

> If Britain's present boom is to be maintained, more workers must be found. Where? The new recruits to British industry must come, it would seem, from abroad, from the colonies, Eire and from the Continent.23

From the late 1940s settlers from the Caribbean began to arrive to work in the factories, foundries and service sector. On the 22nd June 1948 the **Express and Star**, under the headline: 'Jamaicans Arrive, Want Jobs', reported:

> When the ex-troop ship Empire Windrush slid alongside the landing stage at Tilbury today her deck was crowded with 492 Jamaicans, including 13 stowaways, who have come to Britain to seek work... Winston Webb, a builder, said: "All we ask is for a job and a chance to help Britain."24

The following evening, the first seven migrants arrived in Wolverhampton and spent their first afternoon in the town looking for jobs. The **Express and Star** reported:

> All but one are between 21 and 24 years old. All were in England in the RAF during the war. Last night... was spent at Perton hostel for Polish displaced persons. This morning their spokesman told an "Express and Star" reporter that four of them were carpenters, one a car mechanic, one a taylor, and the other had agricultural experience. "We don't all want jobs at the same place but we do want a chance to work hard for a decent wage and decent living conditions," he said. They praised the half dozen Poles into whose dormitory they were placed last night for their courteous welcome. "We don't want to live permanently in a hostel, however. Ultimately we hope we can get lodgings with British families," said another member of the party.
> They all said that they felt much of the publicity

> which had been given to the recent influx of Jamaicans into this country might have a bad effect on colonial relationships. "Most of us feel that wherever we can find a job of work which wants doing and be allowed to settle down to do it, there we will make our homes and give our loyalties," a third member of the party said. "When we first arrived in Wolverhampton there seemed some resentment on the part of the officials at the employment exchange, but we want to assure them that just as some of us came over during the war to help in the fighting forces, so many of us want to come over now to help Britain's trade and economic recovery."[25]

In 1951 there were still only fifteen West Indians in Wolverhampton but by 1966 there was a total of 12,700 New Commonwealth immigrants in the town, comprising 4.8% of the population.[26] Unlike the rest of the Black Country, early Caribbean immigration to Wolverhampton was almost exclusively from the rural parishes of Jamaica - Trelawney and Hanover - and in a sample survey carried out by the Wolverhampton Fabian Society, in the summer of 1957, the majority of men and women gave their occupation in Jamaica as "farmers" and "dressmakers" respectively, thus indicating that they had been subsistence agrarians. Many were illiterate or semi-illiterate and completely unfamiliar with urban life.[27] A second significant difference was that before 1960 - when there was an influx of dependents to all areas to "beat the act" - the immigration to Wolverhampton of women and children was much higher than for the rest of the Black Country or London. This early arrival of dependents, and the establishment of families resulted in the earlier development of communities with a sense of "security and permanence".[28]

Research into the effects of New Commonwealth immigration on industry in the Midlands had been started at Fircroft College, Birmingham, and in 1956 it's warden revealed that:

> Some engineering firms employing more than 25 per cent coloured workers are hoping that others will not find out that they are on to a good thing. At an engineering works employing more than 50 per cent coloured workers, the assistant works manager reported that they were keener than other workers on overtime, although they required more supervision.[29]

And the **Express and Star** reported that

> ...another 1,200 West Indians have arrived in this country. As with previous contingents, a proportion of these job-seekers are coming to the Midlands. They are, of course, British subjects and have a perfect right to come here and try to earn a living. Many are better behaved than some of their white cousins in this country and have proved themselves industrious workers.[30]

By the mid 1950, the industrial boom which had lasted from 1951, was coming to an end and as a result of this recession black people were generally the first to suffer. In 1955, white transport workers employed by Wolverhampton Corporation instituted and overtime ban as a protest against the recruitment of black workers and demanded a 5% quota. Although union policy was officially opposed to discrimination it was common for some local branches to support this type of action. The Transport Committee, to their credit, refused to comply with these racist demands.[31] A few days earlier, bus crews in nearby West Bromwich had gone on strike because a black (Asian) conductor had been employed. The Wolverhampton transport workers turned back their buses at the West Bromwich boundary in support of their racist colleagues. A

spokesman declared:

> It does not matter what the cause of the dispute is - our position would be the same. We would not blackleg against our fellow workers who are on strike in West Bromwich.32

However, Harry Green, the local secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, other union officials and the bishops of Birmingham and Lichfield all publicly deplored the bus crews' action. A joint letter from the bishops read:

> We desire to state publicly that we support fully the decision of the West Bromwich transport committee and the official policy of the Transport and General Workers' Union which opposes a colour bar, and to appeal to those members of the union in the West Bromwich area who have decided on strike action because of the employment of a coloured worker to consider very seriously the gravity of the situation.33

The letter added that "efforts to enforce a colour bar are not reconcilable with Christianity."34

An article by Mark Kersen in the **Express and Star** of the 11th September 1961, claimed that:

> Of a regular 500-600 coloureds and whites, who "sign-on" at Wolverhampton employment exchange, a fairly steady 250 are Jamaican men and 200 Jamaican women.35

While lack of skills was suggested as a partial cause, Kersen claimed that:

> In Wolverhampton, it is an open secret that firms have their own systems of "balancing" their labour force - coloured and whites. One of our largest firms has a whites-coloured ratio of 3-1. Rarely is it lower than 2-1.36

By this time black people were being discriminated against in the the employment market, not only in terms of the

level of jobs they were offered, but also by being treated on a quota basis.

In 1956 the first indications of anti-black prejudice also began to surface in the letters columns of the local press, although attitudes were still generally positive. In June 1956 a delegate from the Transport and General Workers' Union, speaking at a trades council meeting, called for the local authority to take action on the problems created by the existance of some 2,000 black people in the town. "These people," he said,

> have come to stay and we must not bury our heads in the sand and say that they may go before long. They are raising families here, and we have got to make provision for them.37

The following year, Wolverhampton's Medical Officer of Health spoke to the Royal Society of Health Conference and rejected the suggestion that immigrants were any sort of problem:

> My authority is surprised and pleased how minor a problem the immigrants present. There is not a great deal of difference between a cross-section of coloured immigrants and some of our own people. They may keep their curtains drawn, but they are not a great deal different to other people. One begins to wonder whether it is not our own intense patriotism that makes us blind to our own deficiencies. Some immigrants are above the standard of our own people, and the sooner we stop all this 'blah' about 'the problem' the better.38

Although the mid 1950s marked the beginning of intolerance towards black workers in Wolverhampton, the real turning point in race relations took place a decade later with the vociferous entry of the Conservative MP for Wolverhampton

South, J Enoch Powell, into the campaign for an end to immigration and the start of repatriation.

From the mid 1950s Wolverhampton was a comparatively tolerant town as compared to nearby Smethwick and Birmingham where immigration was perceived as something of a problem. In 1955 the borough council declined to attend a conference to discuss immigration because:

> There are not yet many people in the town's council houses. Those who are look after their places well. There have been no complaints.[39]

While the Birmingham Labour Council were sending a delegation to Parliament to discuss the case for immigration control, the town clerk of Wolverhampton was quoted as saying:

> Coloured people in Wolverhampton have not created sufficiently great problems for the council to have to consider such action themselves. The coloured population of Wolverhampton has shown itself to be very law-abiding.[40]

During the 1955 election campaign none of the candidates, including Powell, raised immigration or the presence of black people as a problem or a political issue.[41]

The results of a full-scale enquiry into the immigrant concentration in the Waterloo Road area of the town were published in January 1956. The Wolverhampton **Express and Star** estimated that there were fewer than a thousand black people in the town and reported that:

> ...worse overcrowding conditions exist in cases of Irish and continental immigrants. The coloured folks' accommodation is thought to be capable of

favourable comparison with some English homes.[42]

Most settlers were concentrated into the areas such as Blakenhall, Heathtown, All Saints and Whitmore Reans where both private and council housing was more easily secured.[43] Letters to the local press, following the enquiry, were generally positive. A shopkeeper wrote:

> ...these people are very friendly and are most anxious to come into our way of living and our way of life.[44]

And a branch secretary of the right-wing British Iron and Steel and Kindred Trades Association stated:

> I can say, as a factory worker working amongst them, that they are friendly enough. It has been stated previously that they do not possess the grit to do a hard day's work. Again, I beg to differ, because I see them hourly working alongside our own workers.[45]

Late in 1956, Wolverhampton Borough Council affiliated with a newly formed voluntary body, the Commonwealth Welfare Council, which sought to advise and assist immigrants to the West Midlands. The following year Geoffrey Ayre, a Christian pacifist, was appointed it's secretary and proceeded to establish 'surgeries' in each of the affiliated towns. For ten years he spent every Tuesday in Wolverhampton, opening at 10.30am for people who had often been queuing from 7.00am, and working on beyond the closing time of 5.30pm.[46]

In 1958, a Jamaican family was denied a house on an estate outside Wolverhampton on racial grounds, the Scala Ballroom imposed a colour bar on all black men who came without partners, and teenagers in nearby Dudley harassed and

intimidated black people who were "chased along the streets... by a yelling crowd for no other reason than that they were black."[47] The 'letters to the Editor' column in the **Express and Star** of the 20th June 1958, contained two letters, one suggesting that "our coloured friends ... can have their own exclusive dance hall," and the other asking:

> Would any true Socialist or true Briton want to see their country gradually overrun with coloured immigrants?
> Would it not be more practical to help these people to develop the resources of their own countries, and to educate them in social welfare and birth control?[48]

The former Anglican Bishop of Jamaica, B M Dale, speaking at a public meeting in Wolverhampton's Civic Hall, was reported in the **Express and Star** as saying that "being out of work in England was sheer bliss compared with being in work in the West Indies..." In answering why so many West Indians were coming to Britain he said that

> ...the population in the West Indies was going up, there were far too many black people trying to live there, and because of this there was very little work and not enough food. Many of them had to get out or starve.

He appealed to the people of Britain to "give them a loving welcome. They are strangers in a strange land. When you get to know them you will love them."[49]

By 1959 some 4,000 black immigrants, predominantly from rural Jamaica,were living and working in Wolverhampton and, with the exception of Geoffrey Ayre, the Commonwealth Welfare Officer, received no assistance from central or local government. John Bird's suggestion that "in areas

like Wolverhampton, there is racial prejudice in as much as 40 per cent of the population" may have been an over estimate.[50] Nevertheless, significant minorities which were extremely racist were only held in check by what Paul Foot describes as "a groundswell of opinion against racialism and against colour bars which was enough to make people think twice before stridently raising the issue in public."[51] Significant among the anti-racists were the local authority - which, in spite of its inactivity, was generally opposed to discrimination - many of the local church leaders, the local press, Geoffrey Ayre, John Baird MP and his supporters.[52]

Wolverhampton's social services, particularly housing, were inadequate, and sections of the indigenous population argued, incorrectly, that "immigrants" were the cause of these shortages. In July 1961, eight members of the newly formed British Immigration Control Association travelled from Birmingham to hold a meeting in Wolverhampton Grammar School. They distributed leaflets calling for a complete ban on immigration which they justified by claiming high rates of disease and unemployment among the black community. The meeting was packed with at least 300 people who received with acclamation the three speakers who included the notoriously racist Birmingham councillor, Charles Collett. Ayre, who attended the meeting described it as,

> the worst I have ever attended. It was one long

> catalogue of the crimes, disease and fecklessness of coloured people. None of it had anything to do with the facts.[53]

Fortunately, the BICA failed to prosper in Wolverhampton and the neo-Nazi British National Party never had more than a handful of members in the town.[54] Foot suggests that the main reason for the failure of such extreme right-wing parties,

> can probably be traced to the entrepreneurial skilled-worker class background of Wolverhampton, which, while leading to greater individual prejudice, is staunchly suspicious of all organisations, particularly right-wing organisations.[55]

In September 1962, BICA changed its name to the Wolverhampton Immigrants Amenities Investigation Association and redefined its purpose as ensuring that "immigrants... pay their way," pressing for "compulsory English classes for immigrant parents," looking into their "abuse" of the National Assistance scheme, and the overcrowding of their properties.[56]

In May 1963 several clergymen responded to a report which suggested that health clinics and schools which served "areas with a large coloured population" were being boycotted by whites. The **Express and Star** reported:

> Cannon J Brierley, Rector of Wolverhampton, said that he had not heard of any friction over schools and clinics but if there was any it was to be deplored. Father Michael Connolly, Parish Priest of St Joseph's, Wolverhampton, commented:"Let us be logical. The Government elected by the people for the people decided to have coloured workers from within the Commonwealth in this country to help and build up its economy. No one objects to them working in all sorts of menial task and in the event of a war no one would object to them fighting and dying for

> this country, so why object to them living and using the available facilities, for which they, too, are paying?"
> The Rev B O'Gorman, chairman of the Wolverhampton and Shrewsbury Methodist District, said: "We get some coloured people, not many though, at our churches and they play their part in the church fellowship very well."
> From the Queen-street Congregational Church the Rev R H Sabin said he had not come across any difficulties in connection with the coloured population.[57]

For black people, however, living in Wolverhampton was often fraught with many difficulties. The reminiscences of Jamaican immigrant Ian McDonald were reported by Dilip Hiro in **The Observer** of 14th July 1968:

> In 1961-62-63, the situation was quite bad. Insulting words, assaults on coloured people, police brutality, refusal to serve in pubs, all that. The whites couldn't stand the sight of blacks driving cars.

In 1965 the Council for Racial Harmony was formed by a group of Fabian and Liberal Wolverhampton councillors who invited 400 prominent people in the town to the opening rally. The following year, the Council became the Commission for Community Relations.[58]

The 1966 sample census in the new enlarged Borough of Wolverhampton revealed that 12,700 people (4.8% of the population) had been born in the West Indies, India and Pakistan. Added to this were the British born children of these settlers. Some 13% of the children in Wolverhampton schools at this time were black (17.9% in primary schools and 9.7% in secondary) [59]. By mid 1967, the population of the Borough was 266,890 with an estimated 14,500 immigrants at a ratio of approximately eleven Asians to nine

Afro-Caribbeans. In addition, were the children born of black immigrant parents, which the Medical Officer of Health estimated as 1,200 per year.[60] A detailed survey with some 524 respondents carried out during the winter of 1966-7 revealed that:

> With the partial exception of the workplace, Wolverhampton residents reported more difficulties [with black immigrants] than respondents from other groups.[61]

The reasons for this, suggests Nicholas Deakin, range from the class background of the area to the nature of the original migration of poorly educated rural Jamaicans. Deakin concludes, however that,

> Perhaps the most striking of all the findings in the main study is the limited extent to which the respondents are concerned by the problems raised by immigration. Although, when invited to make an assessment of the situation, 49 per cent of the sample felt that local attitudes towards coloured people were less favourable than the national average, and 65 per cent (by far the highest level in any of the boroughs studied) felt that the situation was bound to deteriorate, when invited to assess the importance of the situation **to themselves as individuals** only 38 per cent of those questioned regarded the immigration issue as being important or very important. 43 per cent felt that it was a matter of no great importance, and 19 per cent that it was not important at all. It is against the background of these findings that the statement by one of the local Members [of Parliament] (Enoch Powell) should be seen: "for over ten years, from about 1954 to 1966, Commonwealth immigration was the principal and at times the only, political issue in my constituency." Can an issue which is neither the main preoccupation of the majority of local inhabitants nor one which finds expression through the orthodox channels of communication legitimately be described as the principal local political issue?[62]

Deakin's assertion is confirmed by George Jones in his detailed study of local politics in Wolverhampton which

fails to even mention immigration as a political issue during the 1950s and the early 1960s.[63] Similarly, Peter Turner, local Tory politician and one-time chairman of Powell's divisional Conservative Party, described the amount of discussion and public concern about immigration before 1965 as "negligible, infintesimal I would say."[64] Only with the inflamatory speeches of Enoch Powell did race and immigration become major political issues in Wolverhampton.[65]

c. THE POWELL FACTOR

One of the most influential and outspoken political figures on the issues of race and immigration from the mid 1960s, was the one time Conservative MP, J Enoch Powell. Powell was born in Stetchford, Birmingham in 1912 and had a middle-class upbringing in the Midlands. He was a brilliant scholar and, after a Professorship in Greek at the University of Sydney, New South Wales, he served as a Brigadier with the British Army in the Middle East, North Africa, South-East Asia and India, returning to England in 1946, both to work for the Tory Party and to campaign for the continuation of the Raj.[66]

Powell, a self avowed "imperialist and a Tory" strenuously opposed the 1946 British Nationality Bill, introduced by the Labour Government, because it sought to remove "the status of 'subject' of the King as the basis of British Nationality" and replace it with 'Commonwealth citizens'

for those from independent countries of the Commonwealth, and 'citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies' for inhabitants of existing colonies.[67] Other Conservatives opposed the Bill because they believed it threatened the privileges of colonial and ex-colonial subjects and would lead to inequality of status or threaten their right to enter Britain.[68] The Bill became an Act in 1948. The following year India declared herself a republic.[69]

Powell, still openly hostile to the loss of the Raj, was elected MP for Wolverhampton South in 1950 and in his maiden speech in the House of Commons declared: "...we should create from other parts of His Majesty's Dominions a replacement for ... the Indian army ... for the defence of His Majesty's dominions."[70] Three years later, as the empire was rapidly being transformed into the Commonwealth with the independence of ex-colonies, Powell was probably the only MP to seriously challenge the Royal Titles Bill which redefined the monarch as "Head of the Commonwealth." He verbally attacked "those to whom the very name 'Britain' and 'British' are repugnant... those who have deliberately cast off their allegiance to the common monarchy..."[71] According to Paul Foot:

> Powell's speech on the Royal Titles Bill represented the first public demonstration of his most consistent ability: to construct out of reactionary prejudice (in this case, a love of Empire) an empty pyramid of formalistic logic, and to identify the whole with a Higher Destiny.[72]

Unwillingly Powell came to accept that the days of the

empire were past, and in 1955 the Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, brought him into the Government as Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Housing.[73] A decade after Powell's conversion from imperialism found him completely turned around from being the imperialist who fought the British Nationality Act, to the nationalist who wanted the strictest of immigration controls.[74] One wonders however, why he was so silent on this issue during the preceding ten years of high immigration and the 1958 and '59 race riots.[75] Was he waiting for his old 'open door' imperialist colleagues to be discredited and for immigration controls to become respectable before speaking out, or - more cynically - did he simply jump on the bandwagon?

In September 1964, just before the start of the general election campaign, stickers were put up in Wolverhampton with the slogan: "Vote Labour for More Nigger-type Neighbours!" Powell denied any knowledge of these and his election address, published the following month, contained only the mildest reference to the "control of immigration" as best "not only for the people of Britain but also for the immigrants themselves..."[76] The following day, however, he claimed that "since the late 1950s" the biggest issue in Wolverhampton had been immigration. On other occasions he dated it from the early 1950s or from 1954 but Foot correctly asserts that there is no evidence for this claim.[77] On the contrary, he appears to have been silent on

the issue until 1964. In October of that year he wrote in a letter to the **Express and Star:**

> As there is an inescapable obligation of humanity to permit the wives and young children of immigrants already here to join them, it follows that the rate of all other new admissions must be reduced further still.[78]

Powell won his seat but the Conservatives were defeated. However, in nearby Smethwick, unlike anywhere else in the country, there had been a substantial swing to the Tories which resulted from the outspoken anti-immigration campaign waged by Peter Griffiths.[79] The immigration control bandwagon attracted many Conservatives, not least among them J Enoch Powell and the Tory leader, Sir Alec Douglas Home. The latter made a speech in February 1965 in which he argued for the tighter control of immigration and a government scheme to assist immigrants who wanted to return to their countries of origin.[80] Powell claimed some credit for persuading his leader to make this speech.

In March, the Conservative leader of Wolverhampton council, Peter Farmer, began a propaganda campaign based on his own misunderstanding of the Wolverhampton Medical Officer for Health's annual report which pointed out that Commonwealth immigrants had "produced 22.7 per cent of all births and accounted for 30.4 per cent of hospital confinements" - figures which are hardly surprising when one considers that most immigrants were young and of child bearing age, and hence not comparable with the general population.[81] Farmer and his Tory councillors concluded that "places like

Wolverhampton with high immigrant birth rates, could find themselves with white minorities within a quarter of a century."[82] Farmer took his case to Powell, and in May the **Daily Mail** reported a speech Powell had made to the Wolverhampton Tory women under the headline: "POWELL'S SEND THEM HOME PLAN."[83] Powell advocated that Commonwealth immigrants be treated as aliens and implied that spouses and children be denied entry:

> It is wholly absurd that while entry of aliens whether from France or China is controlled and policed with the utmost efficiency and permission to work and, even more, to settle is granted only with the greatest care and circumspection, Commonwealth immigrants still stream in with little surveillance and an absolute right to bring or fetch an unlimited number of dependants... These immigrants from the Commonwealth should be subject to the same considerations, controls and conditions as people from anywhere else.[84]

In a television interview in 1969, Powell confirmed that he meant to restrict the entry of dependants and that his justification was the fecundity of black people in Wolverhampton.[85]

In the summer of 1965, Sir Alec Douglas Home resigned and three candidates stood for the leadership of the Conservative Party: Edward Heath, Reginald Maudling and Enoch Powell. Powell was snubbed with only 15 votes - compared to Maudling's 133 and Heath's 150 - and made Shadow Minister of Defence.[86] The Labour Government tightened up the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, which three years earlier they had strenuously opposed, and effectively silenced all but the most strident Tories.[87] In fact, some

Conservatives were critical of Labour's controls for being too restrictive. Not so Enoch Powell who reiterated his view that such controls were inadequate and "will not be got right until admission for aliens and Commonwealth immigrants is on the same basis" and "a steady flow of voluntary repatriation for elements which are proving unsuccessful or unassimilable" has been achieved.[88]

Having tightened up immigration controls, most politicians, on both sides of the House, emphasised the need for "integration" and "assimilation", and dropped the whole issue of immigration from the 1966 General Election campaign.[89] Wolverhampton, however, was a notable exception. A candidate in the local borough election, which preceded the General Election by a fortnight, stood as an anti-immigration Independent and was only narrowly defeated.[90] Powell persisted in speaking of "the tide of immigrants" which "continues to flow in," and to advocate voluntary repatriation.[91] He was elected but the immigration issue does not appear to have helped him. His majority was cut by 3,271 and a Labour government was returned.

In the **Daily Telegraph** of the 7th February 1967 he wrote of the possibility of his white Wolverhampton constituents being "driven from their homes and their property deprived of value by an invasion" which turned their streets black.[92] On the 9th July 1967, following the Detroit race

riots, he wrote an article in the **Sunday Express** entitled "CAN WE AFFORD TO LET OUR RACE PROBLEM EXPLODE" in which he now advocated denying entry to immigrants' dependants.[93]

Three months later he declared that:

> Limiting immigration in Britain is an understatement of what is required... we have got to establish an outgoing for those not fitting in, or fitting in less well... They must return to the country where they belong.
> The British people have been told that they must deny that there is any difference between those who belong to this country and 'those others'. If you persist in asserting what is an undeniable truth, you will be hounded and pilloried as a racialist.[94]

With the influx of Asians from Kenya came fresh calls for controls with Powell using fanciful statistics to bolster his case. Such was the furore raised by his speeches - and to a lesser extent those of Sandys and Osborne - that government and opposition rushed through a Bill in a day and a night to limit the immigration of Kenyan Asians.[95]

Then on the 20th April, Powell, spoke in Birmingham attacking the Race Relations Bill (1968):

> Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad. We must be mad, literally mad as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependants who are for the most part the material of the future growth of the immigrant descended population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping its own funeral pyre.[96]

During this speech he adopted for the first time the methods of the 'lunatic fringe' fascist parties like the British National Party and later the National Front. In addition to fanciful statistics which projected that one tenth of the population of Britain would be black by the

year 2000, he began to use apocryphal stories of immigrant misdemeanors and to imply that a-typical incidents were the norm among the black communities. He quoted an anonymous constituent as saying "in this country in fifteen or twenty years time, the black man will have the whip hand over the white man," and told a story about an elderly white lady in Wolverhampton who was persecuted by immigrants who broke her windows and pushed excreta through her letter-box. Here is part of Powell's speech:

> Eight years ago in a respectable street in Wolverhampton a house was sold to a negro. Now only one white (a woman old age pensioner) lives there... then the immigrants moved in. With growing fear, she saw one house after another taken over. The quiet street became a place of noise and confusion. Regretfully her white tenants moved out... Immigrant families have tried to rent rooms in her house, but she always refused"[97]

He spoke of her being abused as a "racialist" by "charming, wide-eyed, grinning piccaninies." Extensive enquiries failed to trace any such lady in Wolverhampton.[98]

Powell was instantly dismissed from the Shadow Cabinet but the racists had found their champion and he became a focus for considerable media attention. Twenty years later, Powell was unrepentant, describing it as "a speech about which I have no regrets." Roy Hattersley, Labour Shadow Home Secretary, on the other hand, castigated it as "a wicked speech that... did enormous harm to many families in Great Britain" and as "a cowardly speech in that the language of gutter racism" was extensively used. Black Labour MP, Paul Boateng, who was a teenager in 1968, recalled Powell's speech largely because, to use his own

words, "I was one of those wide-eyed, grinning piccaninnies that he saw fit to quote in a letter in that way... and because... in the country of my birth - in the country of which I'm proud to say I belong - I was shouted at, spat at and abused in the streets for the first time ever the day after that."[99]

In response to Powell's Birmingham "rivers of blood" speech, five Communist candidates who were due to stand in the forthcoming municipal elections in Wolverhampton, issued a statement which included the following:

> The racial question is a product of 300 years of exploitation of coloured people by the British Empire, of which Powell was a fervent supporter. One result of the empire is that we now have a multi-racial society in Britain and the clock cannot be turned back. Immigrants must have equality with native-born people particularly in housing and jobs.[100]

And, somewhat prophetically, they warned that,

> If we do not accept this, we shall have ghettoes and an under-privileged coloured population which will eventually burn and riot it's way out of such inhuman conditions as negros are doing in the USA. This is the powder keg to which Powell wants to set a match.[101]

Aaron Haynes, Afro-Caribbean secretary of Wolverhampton's Council for Racial Harmony, was reported as saying that "Powell had done more to inflame the feelings of coloured immigrants in this country than a whole generation of Englishmen."[102] He pointed out that when the suppressors of black people found champions in "the lunatic fringes and morons of this world" we can sigh with pity.

But when people of the undoubted calibre and

> intellectual distinction of the Hon. Gentleman for South-West Wolverhampton find themselves the cheer-leaders for the rabble, and expressing views which would make us hasten to canonise the devil - so wicked are their statements in intent, so distorted their projection and so calculated in their purpose to sow the seeds of discord - we can only exclaim: "O judgement thou art fled to brutish beast and man alone has lost his reason."[103]

Trevor Huddleston, bishop of Stepney in discussion with Powell, declared that:

> Having lived and worked in society in South Africa where racism has become intrenched in a constitutional form, I have seen the dignity of man destroyed by racism. I believe that what you said in your speech intentionally or otherwise was bound to create conditions in this country which would increase tension, racial tension, which would therefore undermine seriously the real dignity of man, and in that sense I believe, and still believe, that it was evil... for me this is an offence against God; it's not just a political offence or a social or economic lack of understanding; it's an offence against God... I think in fact you are building up a situation of tension which is highly dangerous in this country... when you speak about an 'alien wedge', you are actually speaking about millions of people who are actually in this country, who are a permanent part of this country, who happen to be coloured. By so speaking, you increase their insecurity enormously, and you do very great damage...These are people that I have a direct responsibility for, and I know they suffer.[104]

With men from Wolverhampton and Dudley Breweries in the vanguard, the Smithfield meat porters, led by one of Oswold Mosley's supporters, and the Tilbury dockers marched to Parliament in support of Powell, carrying banners declaring "Support Enoch, the man who speaks the truth," "Enoch is right," "Back him not sack him." In Wolverhampton some 1000 men from Norton Villiers (the motorcycle engine manufacturer) left work half an hour early as a demonstration of support for Powell [105] and W G Morrison,

Leader of the controlling Tory group on Wolverhampton Town Council stated:

> I thought his speech was very good and I think the great pity is that there are not more MPs who are aware of the seriousness of the problem in certain areas.[106]

Within 24 hours of his sacking as Shadow Defence Minister, Powell attacked the Tory Leader, Edward Heath, for

> ...playing down or even unsaying policies and views which you hold and believe to be right, for fear of clamour from some section of the Press or public.[107]

Heath, according to Powell's perceptions, had stigmatised his Birmingham speech as "racist" when "it was nothing of the kind."[108] Heath's view was not shared by many Conservatives who wholeheartedly supported Powell believing, with Sir Gerald Nabarro, that Powell "proclaims what the majority of Tories believe."[109] Some 40,000 letters of support poured in to Powell and the Tory Party moved further to the right, eventually adopting Powell's view that Commonwealth immigrants should be treated as aliens.[110]

Powell now declared to the Conservative Party Conference:"...we deceive ourselves if we imagine, whatever steps are taken to limit further immigration, that this country will not be facing a prospect which is unacceptable." He held forth repatriation as the only salvation, and was rewarded by a third of the conference giving him a standing ovation.[111] A month later he declared that: "The West Indian or Indian does not, being

born in England, become an Englishman... in fact he is a West Indian or an Asian still."[112]

Powell continued to make speeches about the black communities and to advocate repatriation. For example, in January 1978 he was interviewed by Brian Walden of ITV's **Weekend World** programme during which he said:

> Tory as I am I do not believe that immigrants and the immigrant-descended population, increasing at the rate it is bound to increase, can be accommodated within this nation and a society without destructive effect... Tragedy and catastrophe can only be avoided if that prospective future proportion of the total population can somehow be avoided. And it can only be avoided if there is a return, or a moving on, on the part of a really substantial, a significant element of the nucleus population already in this country.[113]

In 1974 Powell left Wolverhampton and the Tory Party to join the Unionists in Northern Ireland, and was elected as MP for South Down. His anti-immigrant, pro-repatriation speeches continued sporadically with repeated prophesies of racial strife. In July 1980 he was still speaking of black concentrations in Wolverhampton and Birmingham as potential "citadels of urban terrorism" and warning that major cities would be one third black in the forseeable future.[114] In September the following year he is reported as having "condemned Britain as a sick society which got what it was asking for in the recent street rioting." Powell's prophecies of civil unrest had indeed come true but one wonders to what extent his inflamatory speeches may have encouraged and made 'respectable' attitudes and behaviour which helped to precipitate such riots. It should be noted

however, that all such disturbances in Wolverhampton involved whites as well as blacks in conflict with the police.

An article on Powell which originally appeared in **The Economist**, was reprinted in the Wolverhampton **Express and Star** of October 1972. The author correctly assessed that:

> Colour will never get Mr Powell to Downing Street, nor will Ulster: they are not central to the national identity, and the more extreme he is about them, the more likely he is to encourage extremists of the thuggish, not the patriotic, kind to do their thing. That is the path to debasement.115

In the 1987 General Election, J Enoch Powell lost his Northern Ireland seat and faded into political obscurity.

Because of the historical relationship between racism, imperialism and capitalism it is noteworthy that, speaking privately to lobby correspondents before his speech on controls and repatriation, Powell confided:

> Often when I am kneeling down in church, I think to myself how much we should thank God, the Holy Ghost, for the gift of capitalism."116

In his early twentys Powell had become an atheist having concluded with Nietzsche that "between them, textual criticism, history and the psychology of religion had made... 'a clean sweep'" of the New Testament.117 Later, writes Powell,

> I began to perceive that the assertions which the Church was making were not vulnerable to the weapons with which I had thought them demolished.118

Powell became and remains an ardent Anglo-Catholic. How

then, we may ask, has he reconciled his Christian faith with his policies on immigration and race? Quite simply, he does not believe that the Christian gospel can be used as a basis for making social or political decisions. For him, the commands of Christ can only find eschatological fulfilment beyond the realities of everyday human relationships. During a dialogue with Douglas Brown on BBC Radio 4 in 1968, Brown challenged Powell:

> If we believe that Christ is all in all and that we should be motivated in all we do by Christian belief, then surely there is no argument: all men are equal.[119]

To which Powell replied:

> Yes, but if you deduce from this that all men have an equal right to enter the United Kingdom whatever be their origin, then you must not apply that only to people who happen to come from territories formerly parts of the British Empire. The law of Christ knows nothing of that; its knows nothing of the British Empire; it knows nothing of nations and nationalities at all. You must keep open house for all the nations - for the Europeans, for the Chinese, for the Americans, for the South Americans.[120]

"Surely," retorted Brown, "if you are a true Christian, you do just that?" Powell's answer was that:

> ...The world of Christ and Christianity is a world, humanly speaking, of impossibilities... The commands of Christianity are in this sense supernatural, that they are by definition unfulfilable to men in this world, as Christ contrasted it with the Kingdom of heaven. I don't see how you can deduce an immigration policy from the commands and truths of Christianity. I do not see how you can conduct in accordance with them the affairs of nations, which require that you distinguish between those who are your own people and those who are other people - distinguish economically, distinguish politically and in the end - quoting the 37th article [of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England] - "as Christian men wear weapons, and serve in the wars." You cannot deduce the right or wrong in such behaviour.[121]

Similarly, in dialogue with Trevor Huddleston, Powell asserted:

> I can't see any deduction that I have to make as to the Commonwealth Immigrants Acts, or the British Nationality Act, from the principles of Christianity.122

Challenged by Huddleston to identify whether or not the parable of the Good Samaritan has "got anything to say... about the attitude of the white race to the black race in its local situation," Powell replied:

> It says to me that in Christianity there is neither black nor white, bond nor free; but in the world in which I live there is black and white, bond and free; there are nations who lift up their hands against other nations; and I cannot as a politician assume that what will happen when the Kingdom comes, is happening or has happened...123

"What then," asked Huddleston, "does your Christian faith mean, in terms of every-day living, if it has nothing to say to you about those situations at all, but is only concerned with the Kingdom which is to come?" "I find it insuperably difficult," replied Powell,

> to draw deductions from my Christian religion as to the choices which lie open to me in political life... I cannot find enlightenment or guidance as between two alternative policies and courses of action.124

For Enoch Powell, Christianity has little to do with the present social and political realities as they relate to black people in Britain. Others would strongly disagree! In December 1988 he was still speaking of the likelihood of the race problem exploding with the magnitude of a civil war.

d. OVERT RACIAL HOSTILITY (1968-1977)

The effects of Powell's speeches should not be underestimated. John Helpren wrote:

> What was surprising about the people I met in the working-class areas of Wolverhampton [in 1968] wasn't just their views, but the force with which these views were expressed. I could stop practically anyone in the street, and, unembarassed, they would tell me that coloured people were pigs, that they wanted burning, that they were taking over, and that Enoch was right.
> Social workers told me that this wasn't the case before Powell's speech: only since then have opinions been expressed in open, and occasionally violent, abuse. But the locals don't simply agree with Powell: they also agree with something he never actually said. In a nutshell, they believe he said, 'Send the lot back home.' 125

In February 1968, the former Labour Councillor and Member of Wolverhampton Council for Racial Harmony, Peter Bentley, spoke out in support of Powell's anti-immigration arguments:

> We cannot go on taking them here... any more of them will spell ruin... he [Powell] is right on this issue. We cannot go on taking in immigrants at this rate, particularly in view of the new influx from Kenya.126

The following month, David Steel, then the Liberal Party's spokesman on immigration, called for "a special study of the problem in towns such as Wolverhampton," and the Chairman of South West Wolverhampton's Liberal Association argued that the "area had reached saturation point especially as far as education and housing was concerned."127

On the 21st April, following theassassinationof Dr Martin

Luther King, black and white came together at St Peter's Church in the centre of Wolverhampton for a memorial service. The **Express and Star** reported:

> A Methodist chaplain to overseas students [A W W Alphonsel spoke of Dr King's role. "The genius of Dr King was that he aroused the sense of dignity in the Negro," he said.
> In mauve robes and white hats, the New Testament Church of God Nursery-street Choir, went through the lilting strains of a Gospel song.
> "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," took on a new significance as the minds of both coloured and white pondered the questions of human rights.
> Then came "We shall over-come."[128]

Another service was held at Waterloo Road Baptist Church later on the same day. However, just three hours before the memorial at St Peter's, the 4,000 members of a Wolverhampton working mens' club had voted unanimously in support of enforcing a ban on all black people using their premises. The secretary of the club received 150 letters of support from around the country, and four letters of protest. The former often referred to "England," "the Queen," "Churchill," and "God."[129]

In May, David Gregory, executive committee member of Wolverhampton's Council for Racial Harmony announced that:

> Twelve per cent of Wolverhampton's school population consists of immigrant children. Twenty-one junior and infant schools have more than 30 per cent immigrant children in them.[130]

In fact, ten schools in the borough had over 50 per cent black pupils, twelve had less than one per cent and sixteen were all white. Out of 400 children on the waiting lists,

almost all of them were black.131 Gregory called for increased expenditure on education, claiming that:

> We have accepted immigration on the cheap. We have not provided the extra capital and current expenditure necessary to provide a proper framework for good race relations.132

A month later, representatives of five Black Country boroughs met together to discuss the effects of immigration on the region. In particular they examined the problems relating to education and housing.133 In July, ITV's **World in Action** programme broadcast a documentary on immigrant housing in Wolverhampton, and concluded that black families were, in the main, offered the poorer, older council houses. The council responded by denying any racial discrimination in the allocation of accommodation.134 Their own report, however, reveals that:

> Applicants who are not natives of Gt.Britain have to remain on the [housing] list for a minimum period of two years (this period for the indigenous population is one year) irrespective of the number of points to which they may be entitled. 135

On July 14th, **The Observer** published major articles by John Helpren and Dillip Hiro entitled "Down Among Mr Powell's constituents." It began with a report by John Helpren which transcribed a conversation he had witnessed between a foundry worker, an old age pensioner and a coalman in a Wolverhampton pub located in the Oak Street area and "known to the locals as 'Wog Alley'."

> 'The darkies arn't the foreigners. **We're** the foreigners now,' said the pensioner... 'Bloody racketeers. Enoch's the only one with any guts, and I'm a strong Labour man... Send the swines back home. Enoch's right. I mean he knows, he's lived with it.

He's seen it' [said the foundry worker]. 'Wogs!' cried the friend of the coalman... 'We're the ones being discriminated against... And the police are no bloody use. They're petrified of them. Drink rackets, drug rackets, the bloody lot. But you'll never see the police doing anything...'
'I know some good ones,' said the coalman sounding apologetic. 'I do, too,' added his friend. We all know some good ones, but there's more bad.' 'You couldn't count the good ones on one hand,' said the pensioner... 'They all carry knives,' said the friend. 'It's true,' said the coalman. 'Every one of them does.'
It's the way they live,' said the foundryman, who began to dominate the conversation. 'Wherever they go there's trouble. They've no intelligence. Everything's abuse. They've got 24 in a bloody house. They throw food in the streets and cause rats. There's one street you can't walk down for rat-holes. They even make a noise playing dominoes. They claim for three wives at the Labour Exchange and pack the money off out of the country. They've got prostitutes on the game. They're just degrading us. The government can cover it up, but it's there. We ought to put the boot in. Stick the boot in them.'
When the conversation finally ended after more than an hour and a half of continual, bewildering abuse. I turned around and realised that a Nigerian standing at the bar must have heard every word. Only the coalman looked embarrassed; he offered the man a cigarette which was firmly refused. I asked the Nigerian what he thought. 'I don't think,' he said, and stared ahead. But his fixed stare was not the look of a man who didn't think.136

Such an account should not be rejected as apocryphal or exaggerated. On the contrary, when the author arrived in Wolverhampton in 1974 these were just the sort of stereotypes which were common among a significant proportion of the working-class population. Helpern quotes other examples of bigotry and prejudice which illustrate the prevailing attitudes among many white Wulfrunians. George Hall, secretary of the working mens' club which voted to exclude black people, said:

> They don't **want** to conform... they have parties that go on till three and four in the morning. Our club

> members live by them and they know what it's like. All this dirt and sex. There are areas in this town where a white woman wouldn't walk down the street. If they'd come in small numbers like the Italians there wouldn't have been a problem. But they breed like rabbits.137

Other myths were that black people were simultaneously taking the jobs of whites and living off National Assistance, and that they alone were responsible for shortages and the run-down state of some of Wolverhampton's inadequate housing. Although put rather more crudely by them, such stereotypes were not limited to the working-class. Perceptibly, George Hall, also recognised - or perhaps only rationalised - some of the causes of racial prejudice:

> ...the average working man is the most conservative in the world. He doesn't like change. He wakes up one day and finds himself practically living in the Punjab. But my generation was always taught that black was dirty and white was clean. We were taught about the Black Hole of Calcutta, the Zulu War, and all these atrocities perpetrated by coloured people. That was what our education was about, and now, when the country's being flooded with coloureds, we've got to go and revise our ideas.138

Not only were the older generation infected with racial prejudice, so also were the young. Keith Rowley, a member of Wolverhampton's Remedial Teaching Service, carried out a survey among 1700 pupils in the Borough's fifteen schools and concluded that racial awareness started as early as seven years of age. On the basis of three questions - whom would they choose to sit by in class, to play with in the playground, and invite home to tea or to a party - 75% of Asian children chose their own ethnic group, 60% of West Indians, and 90% of whites.139

At the Reverend Spratling's Congregational Church youth club, the teenagers expressed the same racism as their parents' generation:

> 'We don't like darkies here,' said one ...'He loves blacks, the vicar,' said another. 'But we'll be taken over by them soon. Enoch was right... The blood will flow - that's what he said.' 'That's right,' added a schoolboy. He only went the long way round saying send the lot back home. I mean they do it in the gutter and then pull the chain to make it look good. Have you seen the way they beat their wives?... It continued for three hours: they smell, they're violent, they take our jobs, they take our houses, they breed like rabbits, they live off the country, they cause disease, they don't want to mix, they've more rights than us, they want their teeth kicking in, they're ignorant, they're useless - some of our best friends are coloured.
> ...'We're just talking at the moment,' [said a 17 year old boy]... 'We'll fight back sometime. And it'll start then. The riots. When we've run out of patience. We'll just take a gun and shoot them.'[140]

Powell's speeches on race not only made it 'respectable' to voice racist abuse, they also appear to have stimulated an increase in physical attacks on black people and their property.[141]

Helpren also noted that in the official 280 page Handbook of Wolverhampton there was "no reference... to the coloured community" and "none of the pictures in the book, even those taken inside factories, shows a coloured face." The impression created was "that the coloured community doesn't exist." Walking through the shopping centre he failed to find any black sales assistants, bank clerks or police. "Beatties," he wrote, "the largest store in Wolverhampton, employs over 1000 staff, but does not employ one coloured

assistant." "Is it conceivable," he asks, "that out of a coloured population of 14,500, no one is qualified to be a shop assistant."[142] Twenty years later, the handbook, now a mere ninety-six pages, entitled **Wolverhampton the Pace Setter**, still has nothing to say about its black population and only with a powerful magnifying glass can one identify the occasional black face. The impression created is still that the black population doesn't exist.

The main areas where black people were employed were in factories, on the buses and in the Health Service. However, in one factory, out of a labour force of 1,300 workers, 250 were black but all 35 supervisors were white. In another, with a work force which was 23% black, all of the supervisors - some 125 - were white. Similarly, although 62% of the bus workers were black all 40 inspectors were white.[143]

Of the black young people who left school in 1967, 12% were still unemployed in 1968. For those who found employment, it was generally in transport, foundaries, rubber moulding and other arduous and dirty jobs.[144]

The Observer articles created something of a furore among Wolverhampton's Councillors but Aaron Haynes, secretary and liaison officer of the Council for Community Relations, said that although "it should not be taken as the total views of the community," it did reflect "the situation

among the people who had been interviewed." Similarly, Renee Short, Labour MP for Wolverhampton North East, said she felt the articles were "reasonably objective," 145 and J F Spratling, Minister of the Lea Road Congregational Church wrote:

> As one who is deeply involved in the life of Wolverhampton, I have, with regret, to congratulate John Helpern on the substantial accuracy of his article on race relations in Wolverhampton. It needed to be said; necessary surgery must inevitably be painful.146

Professor Michael Beabrun of the University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica, referred to the articles as

> "...two excellent analyses of the situation in Wolverhampton" which documented well the "prejudicial attitudes, paranoid ideas, defensive hostility and raised anxiety levels which the local population shows in response to the involuntary changes which they are having to make... to adjust to the new cultural invasion."147

In February 1969, an article in the Bushbury parish magazine, by the Reverend R H Sargent was severely criticised by Labour Councillor John Bird for seeking "to spread alarm among the population of Bushbury" and "create ill-feeling against the immigrant population." Sargent had referred to the possibility of "a numerical swamping" of Junior Schools, "and also a swamping through the extra demands made by children who do not speak English," which would result in white parents moving out of the district. Bird responded:

> The church is trying to raise an issue which doesn't exist. It is creating a problem by talking [i]n this way... No Christian should talk in this manner.148

As verbal abuse and attacks on black people and their property continued throughout the years 1970 to 1977 - particularly in the wake of Powell's anti-immigrant speeches - the various ethnic minority community organisations were impelled towards a more united stand, and confidence in the even handedness of the police slumped dramatically.[149] The **Sunday Times** of May 11th 1970, claimed that when a black female reporter asked at Dunstall Road Police Station, Wolverhampton, what the procedure was for making a complaint against the police, the officer at the desk was "brusque and fairly aggressive" and those at Birmingham New Road Station, were described as "suspicious." At the end of July the West Midlands Police recruited their fist two black candidates.[150]

In May 1974, Harambee, an Afro-Caribbean community group in Wolverhampton, handed to the Jamaican High Commission a dossier of alleged cases of police brutality and victimisation. The document claimed that black youth were being harassed by the police and in some cases beaten up. Thirty to forty complaints alleged persecution, assault and the planting of drugs by police officers. The response of Chief Superintendent Keith Longhurst of the Wolverhampton Police was: "There is no brutality or victimisation by Wolverhampton police officers. That is a categorical denial."[151]

The Indian Workers Association, Harambee and the West

Midlands Caribbean Association all withdrew from the police liaison committee because they felt it was ineffective. Narajan Noor, Secretary of the IWA, said, "Yes we are talking to senior policemen but it is the men on the streets who count. It is their actions that make the immigrants distrust the police."[152]

e. **RIOTS AND THE POLICE** (1979-1987)

Anti-police riots in the Wolverhampton area are not phenomena which can be laid at the door of the black community. On the evening of July 21st 1919, for example, before there was a black community in the area, a fight with police escalated into a riot in which several thousand attacked and wrecked Bilston Police Station and the adjoining superintendent's house. The superintendent had his arm broken by a thrown brick. The following day between two and four thousand people surrounded the Town Hall and only dispersed on hearing that the superintendent had lost his only son in the war.[153]

In the wake of the Notting Hill and Nottingham "race riots" of 1958, Wolverhampton was filled with tension for several days. Although there was no civil unrest, the Afro-Caribbean community felt the need to set up their own West Midland Caribbean Association. During the summer of 1966 an argument between black and white neighbours in predominantly white Low Hill, led to a black family's home

being stoned by some 150 whites. Press reports drew black people from surrounding areas with offers of "protection". Police sealed off the street, protected the black family and averted a situation of potential racial conflict.[154]

By 1968 both verbal and physical attacks on black people had increased in Wolverhampton in the wake of Powell's inflamatory speeches, and, while most of the older generation of immigrants refused to 'hit back', their British born children were becoming somewhat more militant in the face of severe provocation. Rainforth Nelson, speaking to reporter Dilip Hiro, said:

> If a young coloured hears "black bastard" from a moving car he throws anything he can find at the car. He's not afraid anymore.[155]

On the evening of Friday 27th January 1978, the **Express and Star** reported, "200 coloured youths were involved in town centre clashes" in which five policemen were hurt, one with a stab wound to the lip. "Police cars and private vehicles were damaged and windows smashed." On the Monday following, inspite of extra police patrols, "two white men were clubbed to the ground by about 10 West Indian youths."

The former incident led to the arrest of seven black people. The deputy chief constable for the West Midlands, Maurice Buck, was reported as saying, "There is no direct evidence at this stage to suggest this was a racial incident," inspite of the fact that he recognised the precipitating cause to have been the fact that "a group of

about 200 coloured youths met white youths leaving a pub and racial slogans were chanted." The day before, leaders of the black community had warned of the possibility of a backlash after a series of attacks on black youngsters "by a gang wearing sinister Ku Klux Klan style hoods" had resulted in ten requiring hospital treatment.[156] The police responded by denying that any such attacks had taken place.[157] William Daniels, writing in the **Daily Mirror**, asked the rhetorical question, "Why has Wolverhampton become the race-problem town of Britain?" and concluded that, "One main factor has been the prominence given to local problems by lapsed Tory MP Enoch Powell."[158] Powell's reported response to the troubles was a renewed demand for the "large scale voluntary repatriation of immigrants, including second generation immigrants (sic)."[159]

Daniels' report also quoted Lance Dunkley, Chairman of the West Midland Caribbean Association, who gave the following reasons for the violence:

> Black youths are living in the worst houses in the worst areas and there are no social facilities and no hope of jobs. There is police harassment and [I] have personal testimony of this. There have also been a series of attacks over the last few months by men wearing KKK-style hoods... This is the first time in history that black Englishmen are going to stand up for the rights of black Englishmen.[160]

In another report Dunkley is quoted as saying:

> Young black Englishmen need to be treated as equals. Many have been under-privileged and deprived for years. Now they have absolutely no concept of what it means to be a person. If you continually reject

people they will end up rejecting society.[161]

A week later the Wolverhampton Anti-Raciist Committee called for a Home Office enquiry and handed Deputy Chief Constable Buck a dossier which included "several allegations of arson, threatening letters, window smashing and in one instance... a West Indian girl was beaten up by whites" in a laundrette while customers stood by and watched her being kicked and punched.[162] At a meeting on the 5th February the **Express and Star** reported "evidence of further violence against black people... [and] claims... of police brutality" which had not been acted upon. The Saturday following, between 800 and 1,500 from both black and white ethnic groups marched through the streets of Wolverhampton in an act of protest against racist violence.[163]

In the wake of the civil unrest, a community relations consultation was chaired by the Bishop of Lichfield, Kenneth Skelton, "who admitted that the church had fallen down in its efforts to achieve racial harmony." Chris Le Matre, Wolverhampton's community relations officer pointed out that the "black youngsters involved were reacting to racism which had existed in Wolverhampton for a considerable time." Eric Pemberton, from the black-led Pilgrim Wesleyan Holiness Church, suggested that complaints against the police "be dealt with by an independent board of enquiry, which should include church members," while "others at the meeting blamed the Church for not taking a

lead in achieving racial harmony." One man, who belonged to an Afro-Caribbean organisation, claimed that a group of "hard core" black youths directly involved in the fight with police "had given up on the Church."[164]

In early May, fear of attack and lack of faith in the police prompted the Indian Workers' Association to advocate the formation of "vigilante patrols." Although prospective Tory candidate for Wolverhampton North East, Jonathan Evans, critisized this suggestion as "irresponsible racialism," the patrols were to be "made up of both black and white people."[165] Later in the month a "good-humoured" demonstration of "more than 100 young people" who gathered outside the Red Lion Street police station, was dispersed by community relations officials and Mr Buck who, according to Percy Young, Chairman of Wolverhampton's Community Relations Council, acted with "tact, discretion and understanding."[166]

However by April 1981, Asian leaders were again calling for increased police action to combat racial attacks on members of their community which in Bilston alone numbered almost forty in twelve months. The Bilston Community Action Group documented numerous cases of window smashing, "several stabbings and physical assaults."[167] In a September by-election Mrs Mel Chevannes became Wolverhampton's first Afro-Caribbean councillor. Describing her Labour victory in Graisley as "a positive

vote for multi racialism," she was elected with "massive support from a broad alliance of Indian, Pakistani and Caribbean organisations."[168]

In July, following the Brixton and Handsworth riots, the evening of Friday 10th saw the beginning of civil unrest in Wolverhampton which lasted until the following evening. Black and white youth smashed shop windows, looted, and fought police with bricks and petrol bombs. The Mander Centre, one of Wolverhampton's main shopping precincts, was guarded by hundreds of police as groups of youths attacked shop windows.[169] At Whitmore Reans more than 100 police (one reporter estimated 200) were pelted with petrol bombs, bottles and stones when they arrived to prevent looting by some 150 rioters. On both Friday and Saturday nights the Dunstall Road Police Station was attacked by mobs.[170]

The following month, Lord Scarman visited Wolverhampton as part of his "investigation into urban unrest," to be met (unofficially) by a group of black demonstrators complaining about unjust treatment for black defendants.[171] Speaking of the West Midlands the Scarman Report concluded that:

> The common strands in many of the major disorders, for which there is much evidence, are to be found in shared social conditions, in economic insecurity and perceived deprivations, in enforced idleness because of unemployment, and in the hostility of at least a section of young people to the police.[172]

The police explanation of the causes of the Wolverhampton

disturbances was, according to Scarman,

> A build-up of tension... fed by rumours of imaginary incidents... an expression of youthful hooliganism, urged on by a "copy-cat" element for which, it was held, the media bore considerable responsibility.

However, "the police identified their relationship with black youths as the main area of friction."[173] Ethnic minority leaders in Wolverhampton stressed the problems suffered by their communities:

> Racial discrimination, urban decay, unemployment, inadequate education and insufficient funds to tackle the problems of ethnic minorities combined to provide a feeling of hopelessness, frustration and a foundation for civil disorder. To these factors were added the problems of policing and complaints about bias in the criminal justice system.[174]

Labour council leader, John Bird, speaking after a smaller town centre incident maintained: "There is no getting away from the fact that unemployment is the root cause of the problem." Similarly, Chief Superintendent David Ibbs stated that, "in the town centre a number of the youths are unemployed and government both centrally and locally must address itself in that area."[175] With Scarman, they agree that the riots were not primarily of a racial nature except in so far as discrimination against ethnic minorities, particularly those which are physically identifiable and not characterised by setting up their own businesses, leads to a higher proportion of them being unemployed and hence economically depressed and vulnerable to the deprivations of the inner city. Of the 4,155 young people in Wolverhampton who left school in the summer of 1987, 19% of them were of Asian, and 7% of Afro-Caribbean origin and

only 12% found employment. However, for school leavers of Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin the situation was particularly bad with only 4% of each finding jobs as compared to 15% for those of UK and Irish origin.176

During the afternoon of Friday 20th February 1987, a twenty-three year old black man - who had once been a member of the Waterloo Road Church of God of Prophecy 177 - Clinton Ludlow McCurbin, died during an incident involving police who had been called to a shop in the town centre where McCurbin was suspected of trying to use a stolen credit card.178 Police Superintendent Bagley is quoted as telling reporters:

> The young man involved appears to have suffered some medical fault. He was in the process of being arrested and he just collapsed. There are no physical signs of injury to him or anything like that and there is no suggestion of him having been assaulted.179

From among the "scores of shoppers watching through the large display windows" was one witness who said:"There were two policemen holding a man by his feet and one on his back. All of a sudden he went funny." Another reported that:

> He [McCurbin] was lying face down on the ground with his hands handcuffed. Then he was dragged like that into another room.

A third, Raymond Coulter, stated:

> I saw a policeman run up and grab him round the neck. The man was swinging himself round trying to get away. Then he fell against the window. The next thing was that they were kneeling on him. The force they were using was far too excessive. One black woman in the shop burst out crying. He never swung a

punch against them. He did not get a chance.[180]

A crowd of some 200 quickly gathered and about twenty police arrived. Two hours later, after McCurbin's body was carried from the shop, six police were injured and thirteen people arrested in violent reactions to the death which led to running battles, windows being smashed and some looting. Eventually more than 300 police, some in riot gear, were called in.[181]

The following day (a Saturday), Wolverhampton Wanderers football supporters converged on the area where McCurbin had died and where about 300 people had already gathered. Four hundred police, many in riot gear, confronted the crowd who stoned them, smashed more than 20 windows, looted shops and damaged cars.[182] The same day, two Home Office pathologists confirmed that McCurbin had died of asphyxia "consistent with being restrained." Clinton McCurbin had been suffocated, but Superintendent Martin Burton continued to deny that unnecessary force had been used. An enquiry was set up by the indepdent Police Complaints Authority. Members of McCurbin's family feared a police "cover-up" and Wolverhampton Council, black community leaders and church leaders called for the enquiry to be made public.[183] When Michael McCurbin was taken to Wednesfield Police Station to be informed of his brother's death, the police questioned him as to whether Clinton "was on drugs or whether he had taken lessons in Kung Fu and boxing," inspite of the fact

that the pathologists' findings had indicated no use of drugs.[184]

On the 23rd McCurbin's mother arrived from New York and attempted to lay a wreath in the shop where her son had died. A security guard prevented her entry and she threw the wreath through the door.

When the inquest was opened on the 24th, Paul Boateng, the McCurbin family's barrister, accused the police of trying to "smear" McCurbin's name by linking his death with drugs.[185] Boateng demanded an apology which was forthcoming from Chief Superintendent David Ibbs the following day.[186]

The enquiry now became a political battleground as Wolverhampton's Labour controlled council committed themselves to pay the McCurbin family's legal fees, the costs of bringing McCurbin's mother from the United States and, if requested, for an independent post mortem. The Tories vehemently opposed this and Conservative Councillor Bob Bradley, accused the Labour Party of "dragging this very unfortunate death into the political arena. It is a witchhunt and nothing more," he said.[187] The following day, the black section of the Birmingham Labour Party called for the two policemen involved in McCurbin's death to be charged with murder; for an investigation by an independent pathologist; for an independent public enquiry

with black involvement; for police compensation for McCurbin's family, and for the release and dropping of charges against those arrested in connection with incidents following his death.[188] Wolverhampton Council for Community Relations issued the following statement:

> Relationships between the black community and the police seem to be at new equilibrium where the death of black people is becoming a regular result of the process of contact between black people and the police.
> It is difficult to imagine that normal and proper policing could result in asphyxia "consistent with restraint" while performing an arrest.
> We are also concerned at the false statement issued by the police soon after the event became public knowledge and the length of time before more relevant and correct information was made available.
> An enquiry of the kind indicated by the police is unacceptable.
> There would have to be an open enquiry where eye witnesses - whose version is yet untold - could participate.
> We are further concerned at the Press reporting of the incident; reading the newspaper, one would not imagine that a death has taken place.
> The media have marginalised the real issue and focused on the less important issues of confrontation between young black people and the police.[189]

Wolverhampton's deputy leader of the Labour council, Peter Bilson, expressed the council's position:

> We have reaffirmed our position as a council to call for a full public enquiry that should specifically involve black representation. That of course differs from what has actually happened.
> We have met with many representatives from the Afro-Caribbean community... and they equally are calling for a full public enquiry.
> I think it was most unfortunate that the police issued their statement about the man having died from a medical condition or drugs so quickly.
> It created a lot of anger in the black community.[190]

On the same day, Geoffrey Dear, Police Chief for the West Midlands, rejected calls for a public enquiry and continued to justify the police statement which linked McCurbin's

death with drug abuse. Chief Superintendent David Ibbs' apology of the day before was negated by Dear's declaration that the Police Authority had "nothing to apologise for."[191]

On the 27th, Wolverhampton Council decided to hold its own public enquiry if their calls for an independent investigation were refused by the Home Secretary.[192] Tory MP, Nick Budgen, claimed in the House of Commons that Wolverhampton ratepayers' money was being used to enable Paul Boateng to "pursue his vendetta against the police"[193] and, faced with a 15% increase in rates, 6,000 ratepayers signed a petition (which eventually doubled) which was presented to Tory members of the Council.[194] The following week the Labour group put a ten thousand pound limit on the aid, and the **Express and Star** reported:

> Councillors are worried about the damage the issue might do to the party's election hopes on May 7. The cash offer has been blamed for Labour's defeat in its Heath Town stronghold last Thursday and its greatly-reduced majority on the same day in the Midlands West Euro by-election.[195]

Tory councillor, Bob Bradley, asserted that:

> The Labour group by giving £10,000 to the McCurbin family for legal expenses has shown bias against the police.[196]

On the afternoon of the 15th April, Clinton McCurbin was buried after an Anglican service attended by 600 mourners. The sermon and burial were conducted by Theophilus McCalla, bishop of the Church of God of Prophecy in Handsworth, Birmingham, and formerly pastor of the Low Hill church

where McCurbin had attended Sunday School. McCalla warned the congregation, "we are not here for a riot this afternoon but to show our last respects to Clinton."197

On Friday 6th March, the eve of a demonstration march through Wolverhampton, a group calling itself the 'Black Liberation Front' phoned the **Express and Star** news desk to warn that it had planted a bomb in the Civic Centre. The 'bomb' - a shoe box which smelt of paraffin - was discovered. Subsequently more sophisticated and potentially lethal devices were found for which the Black Liberation Front also claimed responsibility. Previously the windows of the Council leader, John Bird and the Labour group chairperson, Mel Chevannes, had been smashed by the same group.198 On the other hand, a spokesperson for the Black Community Action Group in Wolverhampton, which was responsible for organising the demonstration, said,

> We are not expecting trouble and we don't want any. The march is a call for justice - we want an independent enquiry into Clinton's death.199

The march on Saturday 7th attracted more than 2,000 demonstrators who were policed by officers brought in from as far a field as West Mercia, Staffordshire, Greater Manchester and Northamptonshire.200 When the protesters reached Dunstall Road Police Station, writes an **Express and Star** reporter, they

> halted for more than ten minutes booing and chanting "burn the station"... each entrance to the station was guarded by mounted police and dog handlers. Opposite the police station members of the congregation of Tabernacle Baptist Church sang hymns

> on the steps. The Rev. Peter Gordon Roberts explained: "We are very concerned. We are interested in justice and the peace of the town."[201]

It is unfortunate that a polarization was taking place which in extreme cases led to racism and the support of the police being correlated and set against anti-racism and hostility towards the police. The author of an article in Wolverhampton Council's **Topic** news sheet sought to redress this dichotomisation:

> Those who claim to speak up for the police, while openly preaching racial hatred must be shown up for what they are, for theirs is the kind of support the police can well do without.[202]

Sadly, even this 'balanced' statement was greeted with aprobation by some local Conservative politicians.[203]

On the 1st Febuary 1988 the inquest into McCurbin's death was halted when Paul Boateng, the family's solicitor questioned the all-white nature of the jury. The Coroner, Keith Swain, refused to convene another jury and the inquest was postponed. Considering that some 40,000 (16%) of Wolverhampton's 252,000 strong population are from the ethnic minorities (the highest proportion in the West Midlands and the second highest in the country) one would expect the ratio to be reflected in two black jurors.[204]

It is against this background that the transplantation and growth of Wolverhampton's black Pentecostal congregations must be considered. The early arrival of depedants hastened the development of stable families and communities,

including the Pentecostal churches. These congregations comprised a higher percentage of poorly-educated agrarians than most in other parts of the country and were a milieu in which peoples' dignity was affirmed in opposition to the disdain and denegration so often experienced in the wider society. The mid 1950s witnessed disdain turning into intolerance, and by the early 60s the recession coupled with increasing discrimination in employment meant that the majority (over 80%) of the jobless were Afro-Caribbean. Enoch Powell's vociferous opposition to immigration and calls for repatriation in the mid 60s had become identified with crude racism and by 1968, he had been adopted as the champion of those who were both verbally, and increasingly physically, abusive to black people. Powell's views - or the popular interpretation of them - made it 'respectable' to articulate the racist abuse which increasingly spilt over into attacks on property and people.

The sense of frustration and injustice experienced by the young unemployed was particularly acute among black youth who, because of racial discrimination, were particularly susceptible to the deprivations of the urban environment. Violent demonstrations which reflected economic deprivation - evidenced by looting - and outrage with the police (and the state) - evidenced by open hostility - were an inarticulate protest against a society which had utterly failed to value them or treat them with evenhandedness and respect.

It is within this climate of prejudice, racism, discrimination, injustice and frustration that the black Pentecostal congregations have formed, developed and functioned to make God immanent and to meet the needs of a significant proportion of the settlers from the Caribbean and their British-born children. These functions are considered in greater detail in chapter seven, and a definition and description of the types of Pentecostalism represented in Wolverhampton are given in the next chapter.

Notes and References

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6. Quoted in Field, Frank and Hakin, Patricia, **Black Britons**, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, p 3.

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12. Grosvenor, Ian and Chapman, Robb (compilers), **West Africa, West Indies, West Midlands**, Sandwell: Sandwell Department of Education, 1982.

13. Ibid.

14. **Theatrical Times**, 5th September, 1846.

15. Grosvenor and Chapman.

16. **Explanation of the contents of the Society's Album**, Birmingham: Female Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves, nd (c1830), Birmingham Reference Library. It is also noteworthy that as early as the 1830s these 'radical' Christian women were prepared to change the gender of the text quoted from Hebrews 13:3.

17. Grosvenor and Chapman.

18. **The Morning Star**, 20th January, 1866.

19. Letter from a Corporal in 6th Regiment, 6th Novemeber, 1865. Reported in the **Morning Star**, 20th January, 1866.

20. Hiro, Dilip, 'The Young are Ready to Hit Back' in **The Observer**, 14th July 1968.

21. **Express and Star**, 29th November 1945.

22. Foot, Paul, **The Rise of Enoch Powell: An Examination of Enoch Powell's Attitude to Immigration and Race**, London, Cornmarket Press, 1969, p.46.

23. **Express and Star**, 19th January 1956 quoted in Foot, p46.

24. **Express and Star**, 22nd June 1948, quoted in Foot, p 1.

25. **Express and Star**, 24th June, 1948, quoted in Foot, p 5.

26. Brooks, Ira V, **In Chains Shall They Come Over**, np, nd, p 23.
Brooks, Ira V, **Where Do We Go From Here?**, London: np (New Testament Church of God), 1982, p 12; **Institute of Race Relations Fact Paper**. While black people were settling in Britain during the 1950s and 60s the Civil and Human Rights movements - Desegregation and Black Power - led by Martin Luther King and Malcolm X were emphasising integration and black nationalism respectively and putting an end to the legality of segregation in the United States. However in 1988 black unemployment in the deep South was still twice that of whites and black average income was only 58% of white income.

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33. **The Times**, op cit, 25th February, 1955.

34. Ibid.

35. **Express and Star**, 11th September 1961.

36. Ibid.

37. Quoted in Foot, p 47.

38. **Express and Star**, 28th February 1957, quoted in Foot, p 48.

39. **Express and Star**, 19th January 1955, quoted in Foot, p 43.

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41. Foot, p 44.

42. **Express and Star**, 12th January 1956, quoted in Foot, p 45.

43. **Birmingham Post**, 28th April, 1988.

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48. **Express and Star**, 20th June 1958.

49. **Express and Star**, 16th June 1958.

50. **The Times**, 30th September 1958

51. Foot, pp 51,52.

52. Ibid. pp 52,58.

53. Ibid. p 55.
See also **Express and Star**, 19th July 1961.

54. Foot, p 57.

55. Ibid, pp 57,58.

56. **Express and Star**, 12th September 1962.

57. **Express and Star**, 24th May 1963.

58. Foot, p 59.

59. 'Institute of Race Relations Fact Paper' cited in **Express and Star**, 6th October 1969.

60. Ibid.

61. Foot, p 60.

62. Ibid, pp 60-61.

63. Jones, George, **Borough Politics: A Study of Wolverhampton Borough Council**, London: Macmillan, 1969, cited in Foot, p61.

64. Foot, p 61.

65. Ibid, p 62.

66. Ibid, pp 11-14; Powell, Enoch, **No Easy Answers**, London: Sheldon Press, 1973, A biographical note on rear cover.
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67. Foot, p 15.

68. Ibid, pp 16,17.

69. Ibid, pp 18,19.

70. Powell, Enoch, **Hansard**, 16th March, 1950, quoted in Powell, p 20.

71. Quoted in Foot, pp 21,22.

72. Foot, p 23.

73. Ibid, pp 25-27.

74. Powell, Enoch, writing anonymously in **The Times**, 2nd April, 1964, quoted in Foot, pp29,30.
Paul Foot claims that at this time Powell was anonymously espousing a "patriotism" which attacked the Commonwealth as "a gigantic farce," a "disastrous encumbrance from which Britain must break free," and that this was also the beginning of his 'crusade' against immigration from the New Commonwealth. According to Foot, in the same anonymous letter to the Times, Powell wrote: "to have our laws so far out of relation with the realities was the cause of the massive coloured immigration in the last decade which has inflicted social and political damage and will take decades to obliterate." Ibid.

75. Foot, pp 30-39.

76. Quoted in Foot, p 69.

77.Foot, p 69 et passim.

78.Powell, Enoch, in **Express and Star**, 9th October, 1964,quoted in Foot, p 71.

79.Foot, pp 70,73.

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92.Quoted in Foot, p 62.

93.Ibid, p 102.

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96. Powell, Enoch, 20th April, 1968 (transcribed from an audio tape of his speech).

97.Powell, Enoch, quoted in **Express and Star**, 20th April, 1968, see also **Express and Star**, 6th July, 1968.

98.**Express and Star**, 20th April 1968; Foot, p 116.

99.Powell, Hattersley and Botang speakig to Jon Lander, **Central Lobby**, Central Television, 14th April, 1988.

100.Reported in **Express and Star**, 20thApril, 1968.

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104. Powell, **No Easy Answers**, pp95,97,107.

105.Ibid.

106.**Express and Star**, 22nd April, 1968.

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108.Ibid.

109.Ibid.

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111.Quoted in Foot, p 118.

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119. Ibid, p 89.

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121. Ibid, p 89,90.

122. Ibid, p 99.

123. Ibid, p 110.

124. Ibid, p 111.

125.Helpren, John, 'Town That Has Lost It's Reason' in **The Observer**, 14th July, 1968.

126.**Express and Star**, 20th February, 1968.

127.**Express and Star**, 15th March, 1968.

128.**Express and Star**, 22nd April, 1968.

129.Helpern.

130.**Express and Star**, 7th May 1968.
cf 'The Hard Facts: Immigration in Your Town' reproduced in **Express and Star**, 15th May 1968.

131.Helpern.

132.Ibid.

133.**Express and Star**, 5th June 1968.

134.**Express and Star**, 9th July 1968.

135.Reproduced in **Express and Star**, 15th May 1968.
Like the pattern that emerged in Chicago, Wolverhampton developed a ring of older accommodation around the commercial hub. It was into this "zone of transition" and other pockets of poor quality housing, that the immigrants from the New Commonwealth moved.

136.**The Observer**, 14th July 1968.

137.Ibid.

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139.Reported in Helpern.

140.Ibid.

141.See Hiro, op cit.

142.Helpern.

143.Ibid, see also Hiro.

144.Hiro.

145.**Express and Star**, 16th July 1968, 19th July 1968, and 'Letters' in **The Observer**, 21st July 1968.
In compiling the material from **The Observer** articles of 14th July 1968, I have taken into account the criticisms of certain points made by the Town Clerk, R.J Meddings, and others in letters to **The Observer** published on the 21st. In so doing, I have invariably given them the 'benefit of the doubt' and quoted nothing which was directly refuted by them.

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161.Hilsden, Chris, 'Cash Hope to Help Solve Race Problems' in **Wolverhampton Chronicle**, 3rd February, 1978.

162.**Wolverhampton Chronicle**, 10th February 1978.

163.**Express and Star**, 6th February 1978. See also Hilsden, op cit.

164.**Express and Star**, 21st February 1978.

165.**Express and Star**, 8th May 1978.

166.**Express and Star**, 30th May 1978.

167.**Express and Star**, 3rd April 1981.

168.**Express and Star**, 18th September 1981.

169. Tucker, Derek in **Express and Star**, 13th July 1981.

170.Salkeld, Peter, in **Express and Star**, 13th July 1981 and Anderson, Gerry, Ibid.

171.**Express and Star**, 6th August, 1981 and 11th August, 1981.

172.Scarman, The Rt Hon Lord, **The Brixton Disorders, 10-12 April,1981**, London: HMSO, 1981, p 14.

173.Ibid, p 146.

174.Ibid, pp 146,147.

175.**Express and Star**, 28th February, 1985.

176.**Wolverhampton Council Report**, cited in **Evening Mail**, 7th January, 1988.

177.**Express and Star**, 23rd February, 1987.

178.**Express and Star**, 20th February, 1987 and 21st February 1987.

179.**Express and Star**, 20th February, 1987.

180.**Express and Star**, 21st February, 1987.

181.Ibid and 20th February, 1987.

182.**Express and Star**, 23rd February, 1987.

183.**Birmingham Post**, 24th February, 1987; **Express and Star**, 26th February, 1987 and 27th February 1987.

184.**Express and Star**, 21st February, 1987;**Birmingham Post**, 21st February 1987.

185.**Express and Star**, 24th February, 1987.

186.Ibid.

187.Ibid, and 25th February, 1987; **Birmigham Post**, 26th February 1987.

188.**Express and Star**, 26th February, 1987.

189.**Ad News**, 26th February, 1987.

190. Ibid.

191. **Express and Star**, 26th February, 1987.

192. **Express and Star**, 27th February, 1987.

193. **Express and Star**, 4th March, 1987.

194. **Express and Star**, 6th March, 1987.

195. **Express and Star**, 10th March, 1987 and 18th March, 1987. cf **Birmingham Post**, 17th March, 1987.

196. **Express and Star**, 1st April, 1987. See also 2nd April, 1987.

197. **Express and Star**, 15th April, 1987. Journalists working on the Express and Star during the McCurbin case were accused by the National Union of Journalists of "Criminalising the Black Community" and were asked to leave Clinton McCurbin's funeral service by members of the family.
Express and Star, 10th April, 1987 and 15th April, 1987.

198. **Express and Star**, 6th March, 1987.
A total of five bombs for which the Black Liberation Front claimed responsibility were planted between February 1987 and July 1988. On Monday 19th December, 1988 three letter bombs were discovered in the mail of West Midlands Chief Constable, Geoffrey Dear, ex-police officer and Tory Councillor, John Mellor and another Wolverhampton-based police Superintendant. These devices, one of which exploded in a postal sorting office, were designed to be triggered by the removal of a Christmas card from its envelope. Some black community leaders claimed that the bombs were the work of an extreme right wing group intent on stiring up racial strife. The Black Liberation Front latter gave the Chief Constable a deadline of Wednesday 15th March, 1989, to resign.

199. **Birmingham Post**, 7th March, 1987.

200. **Express and Star**, 6th March, 1987 and 7th March 1987.

201. **Express and Star**, 7th March, 1987.

202. **Express and Star**, 1st April, 1987.

203. Ibid.

204. **BBC1 Television News**, 1st February, 1988.

PART II

BLACK PENTECOSTALISM IN WOLVERHAMPTON: TYPES AND ORIGINS

CHAPTER SIX

TYPES OF PENTECOSTALISM REPRESENTED IN WOLVERHAMPTON

In order to make the diversity within Pentecostalism understandable, it is expedient to construct rather simplistic ideal types under the three major headings of 'Two-stage Pentecostalism', 'Three-stage Pentecostalism', and 'Oneness Pentecostalism'.1 These conceptually pure abstractions should not, however, be interpreted as reflections of reality which invariably lacks the clarity of ideal types and is often ambivalent, ambiguous, inconsistent and even self-contradictory.

a. PENTECOSTAL SECTS AND COMMUNITIES

So far I have generally avoided referring to the ideological, social and ecclesiastical groups which Pentecostals form as 'sects' because of the pejorative overtones connected with this term in common (non-sociological) parlance. Thus I have preferred to speak of congregations and of organisations. The former being single worshipping communities and the latter fellowships of congregations or the headquarters congregation to which the others owe some allegiance.

In terms of the typology which originated with Max Weber

and Ernst Troeltsch, however, both black and white Pentecostal congregations and organisations are sects as distinct from churches because they are comparatively small; they are uninvolved with the state and the wider society, and they stand in opposition to the dominant established culture. Membership is voluntary and based on a personal pneumatic encounter with God; leaders are generally untrained lay people who receive their power and authority from God, and uphold ascetic taboos which "separate" the "saints" from the "nominal Christians".2 The Second Advent is expected to consummate Christ's redemption with the establishment of the Kingdom of God.3

While Pentecostal congregations may be defined theologically as churches, they are sociologically sects whether we use the criteria of Treoltsch, Howard Becker 4 or J. Milton Yinger.5 Yinger's classification of the way in which sects respond to the perceived evils in the wider society includes 'acceptance', 'aggression' and 'avoidance'. The last, which is typical of black and white Pentecostals involves the devaluation of "the world" and the present with emphasis being placed on the future. This particular type of response, according to Yinger, makes it more likely that the sect will develop into a denomination than sects which are in open conflict with society's norms and values.6

For Yinger and Becker, however, the church/sect dichotomy

fails to classify religious groups which fall between these two polls, and both interpose that of the **denomination** for those communions which, by the second or third generation, have begun to compromise on the rigidity of their doctrine, ethics, taboos and their opposition to both the norms and values of the wider society and to Christians in other bodies.7

The reality of the situation for both black and white Pentecostals is that they inhabit a wide spectrum of positions on the continuum between sect and denomination with the majority falling closer to the sect ideal type than the denomination one. With the second generation of black British Pentecostals has come a small but clearly discernable shift in the direction of becoming denominations, but they remain, for the moment, firmly in the sect category. Brian Wilson notes that the compromises which the sect makes, over time, with the wider society is,

> also a compromise with its own second generation of adherents, and may be viewed from both the point of view of stress arising internally, and from the strains occurring in the relationship of the group to the social order.8

Such stresses and strains are clearly discernable in the black Pentecostal congregations of the 1980s.

Joseph R Washington, writing of the black sect-type in the United States describes it as adding,

> to the centrality of Jesus Christ the demand to feel his immediate presence as a cushion against socio-economic daily shocks...[and seeking] spiritual

> power as a defensive rather than an offensive armament... religion as the underlying hope for social power in the black sect-type is obscured by the search for immediate spiritual power which is nearly exhausted in millenarianism, holiness, personal perfection of life, speaking in tongues, freedom from temptation, puritan moralism and spiritual prophecy. Salvation of the individual, fundamentalism, faith healing, and public confession of sin become substitutes for real power in society largely as a result of following white theological patterns. The unique black desire for social power in religion is nearly but not completely frustrated by white patterns in the black sect-type.9

As an ideal type, this is also an adequate description of black Pentecostals in Britain. As we shall see later, however, the complexities of the real world are less easily categorised. The internal stresses created by the second generation and external pressures of the wider society are beginning to make such descriptions less valid.

Listen Pope itemised among the characteristics of the sect, its hegemony over members' lives, their low socio-economic status, cultural marginalisation, ethical rigorism, biblicism, reliance on pneumatic guidance, psychology of persecution and future orientation. Ministers are non-professional and part-time and hymns reflect popular musical trends.10 Russel Dynes developed Pope's work and discovered that there was a close correlation between high socio-economic status, affiliation with church type groups and the formation of friendships outside the group on the one hand, and - on the other - between low socio-economic status, affiliation with sect type groups and the formation of friendships within the sect.11 All these generic

characteristics of sects are typologically applicable to both black and white Pentecostals in Britain.

In addition to these 'established' working class sects, however, there are of course the more recently formed and often middle-class neo-Pentecostal or Charismatic house group type sects and a large number of "Spirit-filled" believers in the mainstream denominations. There are perhaps as many of these neo-Pentecostals in Britain as there are 'classical' Pentecostals. Furthermore, while the older Pentecostal sects are moving in the direction of becoming denominations, the house-group or 'Restorationist' Charismatics are more likely to be found moving from their denominational position towards a sectarian one.[12]

Pentecostal congregations may also be defined sociologically as communities - gemeinschaft rather than gesellschaft. Sociologically it is not legitimate to speak of the totality of Afro-Caribbean people in Britain as the "black community". It is, however, the term most widely used and I have used it in preceding chapters in this ill-defined way. In this chapter and subsequently, however, I will refer to the totality of Afro-Caribbean people in Britain as the "black ethnic group", thus freeing the term "community" to be used more pretisely and definitively.

In Weberian terms we may describe black Pentecostal sects as loci of 'closed' social relationships in so far as they

tend to exclude, limit or make social relationships subject to certain conditions which go beyond mere feelings of ethnic solidarity in terms of a shared culture and a shared identity.[13] Furthermore, the black Pentecostal sects recognise the representative role of their ministers and office holders. This combination of 'closed' social relationships, representatives who make social action possible, and the recognition of leaders who enforce the entry requirements and duties of members, define the black Pentecostal congregations and organisations as communities in the sociological sense.[14]

Thus black Pentecostal congregations and organisations may be spoken of sociologically as both sects and communities. The very term Pentecostal, however, also requires some definition. The word, from the Greek for fifty, designated the Jewish festival of Shavout which fell fifty days after Passover and, in the Acts of the Apostles, was the day on which the Holy Spirit descended on the early disciples, inspiring them to speak in tongues and marking the birthday of the New Testament Church. Not surprisingly, the glossolalic Christians whose ecclesiastical lineage can be directly or indirectly traced to the Azusa Mission have often been called, or chosen to call themselves, Pentecostals (more correctly but less commonly Pentecostalists) and their sects designated Pentecostal. The appellation is however not without its problems, for the term is not accepted by all so called Pentecostal sects

whose geneology leads back to Azusa Street, and has for them and others a variety of meanings. For Seymour and the Azusa Street congregation the name "Apostolic Faith" was borrowed from Parham, although they also used the term Pentecostal. For many others in the Americas, both black and white, the designation "Church of God" was used. Many black Pentecostals in the United States, Jamaica and Britain consider that the term Pentecostal refers specifically to the Oneness (Apostolic) sects which are not only glossolalic but also apply the term to themselves because they preach the message declared by the Apostle Peter on the Day of Pentecost in Acts 2:38. For most white North American Pentecostals the term is linked to a specific understanding of glossolalia: the 'evidence doctrine'.15 Thus in addition to the **genealogical** definition there are at least two **doctrinal** definitions of the term. The white North American Pentecostals and most of the white Pentecostals in Britain adhere to the view that baptism with the Holy Spirit accompanied by the "evidence" of glossolalia is the definitive characteristic of Pentecostalism. Percy S Brewster of the Elim Pentecostal Church writes of,

> The great Pentecostal movements['].. strict adherence to the Word of God, baptism in the Holy Spirit as an experience after conversion with the initial evidence of speaking in tongues, and their emphasis on the second advent of Jesus Christ...16

This statement from an Elimite is however interesting because the Elim Church is the only Pentecostal sect in Britain which 'officially' accepts that initial evidence of

Spirit baptism, other then glossolalia, may be manifest.

Another Elimite, G. Wesley Gilpin, who is principal of Elim's Bible College, states that:

> These Pentecostals, who claimed an enduement of power, saw and sought this experience as distinct from, and subsequent to conversion. The outstanding sign accompanying this new experience was speaking in tongues, indeed a common description of these groups was the "Tongues' Movement".17

Even for the most liberal of these groups, glossolalia remains the primary self defining characteristic of Pentecostalism.

A second **doctrinal** definition of Pentecostalism, which incorporates the "evidence doctrine" of the white North American and British Pentecostals, limits the term to the Oneness, Apostolic, "Jesus Name" or "Jesus Only" section of the movement. Thus many black Trinitarian Pentecostals in the United States, Jamaica and Britain refer to themselves as "Church of God". For them, the term Pentecostal refers to those who are not only glossolalics but also adhere to a modalistic understanding of the Godhead and baptise in Jesus' name. One Trinitarian group (The Church of God of Prophecy) reject the term Pentecostal because they say it designates those who believe the Church began on the Day of Pentecost - a view to which they do not subscribe.

The term however, can be defined more broadly and inclusively, both in terms of **behavioural** characteristics and as "a certain **way of doing theology**".18 A good

behavioural definition of Pentecostalism is given by Walter Hollenweger as:

> 1. orality of liturgy;
> 2. narrativity of theology and witness;
> 3. maximum participation at all levels of reflection, prayer and decision-making and therefore a form of community which is reconciliatory;
> 4. inclusion of dreams and visions into personal and public forms of worship: they function as kinds of icons for the individual and the community;
> 5. an understanding of the body/mind relationship which is informed by experiences of correspondence between body and mind: the most striking application of this insight is the ministry of healing by prayer.[19]

Using this definition one can include non-glossolalic evidence groups like the Wesleyan Holiness Church (until recently called the Pilgrim Wesleyan Holiness Church), the independent African Aladura groups like the Church of the Cherubim and Seraphim, and some Charismatics - both glossolalic and non-glossolalic - in the mainstream denominations. The second inclusive definition - touched upon in Hollenweger's second characteristic - is, in the words of Roswith Gerloff, "a certain **way of doing theology**, not primarily with the head, but with the heart and body, not with books, statements, arguments - but with songs, testimonies and questions."[20] This idea will be developed more fully in subsequent chapters.

In what sense then can the black and white sects in Wolverhampton be considered Pentecostal? While both inclusive definitions are adequate, the degree to which the black sects comply with them is considerably greater than for whites. Doctrinally - as we shall see in subsequent

sections of this chapter - the Oneness sects fit the narrow modalistic definition of Pentecostalism but prefer to use Parham and Seymour's term "Apostolic". The black Trinitarians refer to themselves most commonly as "Church of God". Both Oneness and Trinitarian groups claim allegiance to the "evidence doctrine" but, as we shall see in chapter eight, for black adherents there is a considerable disjunction between theory and practice. The geneology of all these sects can be traced back to Azusa Street, though most have never heard of Seymour.

The limiting characteristic for the purposes of this study is not only that the sects are Pentecostal but also that they are black. Commonly, such congregations are described as "black-led"; a term which implies that the nature of local congregations is defined by the colour of their leaders,rather than of leaders and adherents together. Furthermore, the term "black-led" is ambiguous because some of the organisations to which these congregations belong are in fact led by whites. Thus, while local leadership may be black, the national or international leaders are often white.

The term 'black', however, has a meaning which is greater than solely a reference to external pigmentation. Black is also a term which can define culture. It can define economic, social and political relationships and even the otherness of God. Because 'black' is so often historically

and contemporarily synonymous with oppression, exploitation and suffering, and God is the God of the oppressed and Jesus the one who was persecuted and suffered, we can say with James Cone, that "thinking of Christ as non black in the twentieth century is as theologically impossible as thinking of him as non-Jewish in the first century."21 A white Christ implies a projection of the power of the oppressor. A theologically colourless Christ implies that there is no identification of the divine with those who have been enslaved and oppressed. But to define Christ as theologically (or symbolically) black is a way of saying that He is in solidarity with, and identifies with, those for whom blackness has so often been a defining characteristic of oppression and suffering.22 "When blacks confess Jesus as the black messiah," writes Theo Witvliet,

> this title is not 'just' a symbol. Brought from Africa because of their physical value as manual workers, in their physicality the object of the lust of white masters, these strangers and outcasts in the New World paradoxically enough felt accepted in that physicality by the God who allowed himself to be nailed to the cross. In the context of racism and slavery his self-emptying is his blackness.23

The term 'black' in relation to Christianity also implies some degree of continuity between West African primal religion, New World slave religion, syncretised Christianity and 20th Century Pentecostalism. It is a way of saying that the leitmotive still sound forth; that there are fundamental differences between black and white understandings and outworkings of Christianity, and that even Pentecostalism - for all its superficial similarities

– embraces some profound differences which, in Britain at least, are definable in terms of 'white' or 'black'.

b. PENTECOSTAL TYPES

The black Pentecostal sects represented in the Borough of Wolverhampton fall into two broad categories or ideal types and, for the purposes of comparison, we shall also include a white ideal type and brief descriptions of two minority Pentecostal traditions. These ideal types will be constructed by using 'official' – usually written – sources which state the **distinctive** position of the Pentecostal organisations in terms of doctrine and practise. Statements which are an expression of the **raison d'etre**, justification of, or rationalisation for their separation of identity and existence from both the wider Christian Church and from other types of Pentecostalism will also be used. These statements, which emanate from the Pentecostal organisations themselves, characterise the 'public' or textualised face of the movement's self understanding and sometimes reflect officially held doctrines and practises which have little but superficial or symbolic significance for most grass-root adherents. Although such statements of doctrine are adhered to by blacks they are generally written by whites. Many other statements which express a common (if frequently misunderstood) Christian orthodoxy and orthopraxy have been discounted as of little value in defining Pentecostalism as a distinctive tradition or clarifying the major parameters of its internal diversity.

Certain presenting characteristics (one might almost call them surface traits) which, although they may not be officially normative or definitive, are fairly typical of the movement and of its sub-divisions, and are at least alluded to in the Pentecostal literature, will also be used, as will some oral material which will be further considered in subsequent chapters.

First we shall examine those elements which are common to all three types of Pentecostalism and, although material published by two-stage organisations will be cited for the purposes of comparison, the majority will be from the three-stage and Oneness organisations to which most black Pentecostals belong.

c. EXPERIENTIAL EMPHASIS

John Thomas Nichol asserts that:

> the great gulf which separates most Protestants from the Pentecostals is the stress the latter put on what they call the "full gospel" - especially the teaching concerning one's experiental encounter with the Holy Spirit as well as emphasis on healing.[24]

Pentecostalism, both black and white, has laid greater stress on experiental rather than cognitive factors. While the balance between experience and doctrine varies between organisations and congregations, the general trend is for black Pentecostalism to stress the former rather more than their white co-religionists and, while white North American and British Pentecostals emphasise glossolalia,[25] black Pentecostals express a more holistic approach. Such

experiences are, however, justified in terms of doctrine which is based on fundamentalistic interpretations of the Bible. Pentecostalism has legitimised continual pneumatic and emotional encounters with, and experiences of, the divine. For Methodism, the Holiness Movement and various forms of revivalism, such experiences were limited to specific crises: conversion, sanctification, Spirit baptism (as understood in pre-Pentecostal terms) and even subsequent pneumatic baptisms, but the Pentecostals have a biblical justification for ongoing pneumatic encounters, emotional experiences and demonstrations which confirm their status as "Saints" and that God's favour rests upon them.[26] Brian R Wilson correctly, if somewhat cynically, states that:

> Pentecostals are not primarily interested in doctrine. Theirs is rather a religion of congregational devotional exercises in which the intense excitement generated is attributed to the action of the Holy Ghost. In general only the ministers of the Pentecostal movements know much about doctrine. But although the laity are doctrinally uninformed, doctrine is important for Pentecostalism, since it justifies Pentecostal phenomena through the scriptures, and these phenomena justify separation from other churches.[27]

While few members and adherents have more than a superficial knowledge of, or interest in doctrine they will, if pressed, reiterate the tenets of their faith by rote. While doctrine is important to Pentecostals, the reasons for this are generally non-theological and have to do with identity, respectability and the legitimisation of experience. Only for the ministers, some of the second-generation conformists and the young radicals is doctrine

important qua doctrine.

d. FUNDAMENTALISM

The late 19th Century saw the development of two associated reactions to the biblical criticism and modernism of liberal Christianity. These were the Holiness and Fundamentalist movements. The development of the former has already been outlined in chapter one. The latter was the result of an amalgamation of Princeton theology - which stressed the inerrancy of the original documents of the Bible - with the dispensational pre-millenialism of John Nelson Darby's Plymouth Brethren. In 1895 the Niagara Bible Conference issued a statement which became known as the "five points of fundamentalism": the verbal inerrancy of Scripture, the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Virgin Birth, the substitutionary atonement, and the bodily resurrection and Second Advent of Christ.[28] This fundamentalism had already been embraced by many of those who came into the early Pentecostal movement and it became part of Pentecostal orthodoxy. The rejection of Pentecostalism by the World Christian Fundamentals Association, at their conference in Chicago in May 1928, in no way weakened their 'official' adherence to fundamentalist principles. Black Pentecostals, however, while overtly subscribing to this view of Scripture often use the Bible as a starting point or initial inspiration for the development of sermons which relate to the daily experiences and aspirations of their congregations.

Eisegesis is at least as common as exegesis.[29] The fundamentalistic literal biblicism in black Christianity is something they have adopted from white fundamentalists rather than an authentic black understanding and use of the Scriptures. This is hardly surprising. Robert D Brinsmead writes:

> Churchmen barricaded themselves behind biblical proof-texts to support the institution of slavery, while those who opposed slavery in the name of the Lord had no proof texts with which to shield themselves.[30]

This not withstanding, the 'official' view is that:

> Although the original autographs of the Bible have been lost or destroyed, the Church has come to accept the King James version as "a masterpiece of fidelity to the original Greek and Hebrew texts [sic] and is considered a literary work without equal or parallel in the English language." Accordingly, the King James Version has been officially approved by the General Assembly for use in the Church of God [ie The Church of God of Prophecy].[31]

However, Joe T White, former white North American overseer of the black Church of God of Prophecy in England, wrote, "I feel He [God] can speak in other versions beside the King James Version."[32]

While many different modern translations of the Bible appear in the hands of the second generation (including occasional copies of the Jehovah's Witnesses **New World** version!) the translation universally and uncritically accepted by the first generation and a sizeable proportion of the second, as the authorative "Word of the Lord", is the 1611 King James Version. The issues raised by biblical criticism fail to trouble most Pentecostals. Indeed, most

are blissfully unaware of them and the very term 'criticism' implies to them that all such theorising is but a pernicious attack on the veracity of God's inerrant, infallible and inspired Word by atheists, modernists, liberals and "nominal" Christians who are enemies of the truth. The Bible is, in theory at least, the sole sanction and authority for the sect's existence, practice and doctrine.

The idea that the Bible is the product of divine plenary inspiration lies behind the Pentecostal understanding of Scripture. G Wesley Gilpin, Principal of Elim Bible College, writes:

> ...the words of Scripture (as originally given) are God's own words... so perfectly planned that they contained neither a word too little, nor too much... In all this, man's part in the producing of Scripture was merely to transmit what he had received...33

While Pentecostal "tests of faith" are primarily experiental, there are also doctrinal and behavioural requirements for which biblical proof-texts are cited. Thus Stone writes:

> Rightly dividing the Scriptures is as important a truth as the belief in an inerrant Bible. The Bible is infallible whether man accepts or rejects it.34

However, simply believing the Bible to be inerrant and claiming that it is literally true is not enough, for, continues Stone,

> the Scriptures teach unless the Bible is illuminated by the Holy Ghost it cannot be understood.35

e. ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

Such a view of hermeneutics by pneumatic illumination has tended to justify and perpetuate the anti-intellectualism of the Pentecostal movement. The founding father of the "evidence doctrine", Charles Parham, claimed that God "revealed" to him that education was a hindrance in Christian service, and he included direct teaching by the Spirit - through glossolalia, interpretation and prophecy - in his Bible School to which William Seymour came.[36] Seymour's newspaper, **The Apostolic Faith** declared that, "He [the Spirit] will reveal the whole of God's word from Genesis to Revelations."[37] For many Pentecostals the Bible as the revealed Word of God became the antithesis of formal education.[38] Pentecostal pioneer, Frank Bartleman, writing in January 1907, declared:

> We need no more theology or theory. Let the devil have them. Let us get to God... Follow your Heart![39]

The First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) sing:

> I got my education at the cross,
> I got my education at the cross,
> I never went to college,
> To get this blessed knowledge,
> I got my education at the cross.[40]

And members of the United Pentecostal Church in Elgin, Scotland declare:

> I'm an A.S.S.B.G.:
> A sinner saved by grace.
> John 3:16 is my knowledge,
> And the Bible is my college.
> I'm an A.S.S.B.G.:
> A sinner saved by grace.[41]

Writing in 1973 of the ministers in the Pentecostal

Assemblies of the World, Maurice E Golder declared that:

> very few... have any formal or systematic Bible training. Most of them are self-educated in their Bible knowledge and frown upon any academic or scholastic approach to the Bible. Most of them frown upon the reading of any other books outside the Bible; or referring to encyclopaedias or dictionaries - commentaries or lexicons being "anathema"... commonly it is heard that ministers are "waiting on the Lord" to give the message, which is supposed to mean that all of the helps mentioned are not necessary. One using such helps is often branded as being "unscriptural, carnal, and not 'led by the Spirit'". Many personal interpretations of the Scripture and exegesis are called "personal revelations", the like never heard before and for the most part biblically unsound.[42]

Church historian, Martin Marty refers to Pentecostalism as "Belief without Theology" and goes on to write that while Pentecostalism

> ...made twentieth century contributions to the life of a 'nation of behaviors'. They were in no sense theologically inventive, nor were they constituted on intellectual or cognative foundations...the overwhelming number of pentecostalists wanted to be seen as orthodox Christians, content to resort to very simple biblical and experiental language. They borrowed but tended to be bored by, and sometimes opposed to, intellectual formulation... Most pentecostal teachers used theologies from other traditions. Their own efforts have been casual, sporadic, feeble or neglected.[43]

While the Oneness section of the movement has produced more in terms of 'original' theology - Christology, modalism, pneumatology, baptism and soteriology - and some Pentecostals are now entering higher education, the majority remain anti-intellectual in their approach to the Bible and theology. "Within the movement," continues Marty,

> there have been consistent and emphatic voices critical of intellectuality and theological formulation - or even social analysis. David

> Wilkerson spoke for the pentecostal masses when he complained that "often experts deplore and critisize those who speak with tongues and then protect themselves from being judged or critisized themselves by hiding behind research charts and special degrees".[44]

For most Pentecostals, "the wisdom of the world" is as nothing compared to "the wisdom of God" available through reading the Bible and the charismatic inspiration of the Spirit. Ministers perform their functions, not because they have been formally educated or professionally trained, but because they have been "called and ordained by God" and endowed with gifts by the Spirit.

The academic study of theology is disparaged as useless in comparison to the experiences of salvation, Spirit baptism, the ongoing presence of God and the study of the Bible according to the fundamentalist principles of inerrancy and harmonisation. Those who study theology - except in Pentecostal or other fundamentalist Bible Schools - run the risk of being corrupted by "modernism, higher criticism and liberalism" to the extent that they may "backslide" and lose their faith altogether. The earlier anti-intellectualism - which endures among many Pentecostals - has been slightly weakened by the establishment of Pentecostal Bible Schools such as the white-majority, two-stage Assembly of God Bible College at Mattersey, Doncaster, which had eighty residential and twenty-nine day students during the 1987-88 academic year; the Elim Bible College at Nantwich, Cheshire, which had 113

students during the 1988 summer term, and the International Correspondence Institute which has its British offices at the same location.[45] The black-majority, three-stage New Testament Church of God have Overstone College in Northampton and there are many others which describe themselves as interdenominational but have a strong classical Pentecostal or charismatic emphasis. The United Pentecostal Church have a small Oneness Bible School in Liverpool which is run by a white North American minister and the Bibleway Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ have a black-led school in Lewisham, London.

Perhaps the clearest indication of the willingness of some Pentecostals to engage in intellectual processes is the existence of the European Pentecostal Theological Association and its bi-annual conferences on Pentecostal and charismatic research in Europe. However, the few hundred Pentecostal intellectuals and academics involved are generally unrepresentative of grass-root Pentecostalism in Britain - none are from the Oneness tradition and very few are black. On the other hand, over the past ten years a considerable number of black Pentecostals have undertaken training at the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership which offers the Certificate in Theology of the University of Birmingham. Out of almost three hundred students about half have been from Pentecostal and independent churches and about half have been black.

An attitude that is typical of most black Pentecostal pastors who are not under the influence of a white North American headquarters, is well expressed by one of the ministers in Wolverhampton:

> They [the white Christians] rely more on the Book but we rely more on the Holy Ghost. The white reverends - some of them - they will take their text and study it up and make it up, but we believe instead of making one up we will call one down. So now, say like I go to a church now, I don't pick a text. I don't... look through the verses and write out and make notes and when I go up there I read it out. If the Lord desire that I preach from that, he give me the words. And when I read the words (sometime He tell me where to find them) and when you see the word then you preach the word. And then often time He says, "Preach present truth." Better they preach the direct one that the Holy Ghost want. He will select His servant. If you [are] convict[ed] to preach present truth you don't sometime get your sermon until you get on the rostrum. Whatever He says when you are there, then you say it... The coloured man oftentime will [re]ly on the Holy Ghost while the white minister rely on the Book.[46]

In doing so, many black Pentecostal pastors in Britain continue in the same tradition as the slave preachers and exhorters in the Southern States and the Caribbean who were primarily people of the Spirit and only in a secondary and limited sense the people of the Book. They are oral rather than textual.

The recent exponential growth in scientific knowledge is largely ignored, often disparaged and sometimes - associated with global systems of rapid communication - interpreted as yet another sign of the imminent eschaton (Daniel 12:4 KJV). Biological evolution, particularly that of homo sapiens, is rejected with some vigour in favour of

a literal understanding of the Genesis stories.

f. A-HISTORICAL RESTORATIONISM

Closely associated with the fundamentalism and anti-intellecutalism of the Pentecostals is an a-historical restorationism. Pentecostal sects often perceive themselves as a restoration - or **the** restoration - of primative, first century Christianity, and the centuries between the "apostacy" of the Dark Ages and the birth of the Pentecostal movement at the beginning of this century are perceived as an era during which the true Church was almost lost to sight and at times virtually ceased to exist. Thus Christian tradition from the fourth until the beginning of the twentieth century is often considered to be not only largely irrelevant but also a subversion or denial of the doctrines and practices of the pristine Church of the first century. Lilly Dugger, one of A J Tomlinson's biographers, writes:

> Jesus had started the Church of God when he was here on earth, and a record was kept of its progress and activities for several years after the death of its Founder. The period of history known as the Dark Ages had come after the Church of God had departed from the faith and the Church was lost to view... [47]

James Stone, one of the Church of God of Prophecy's historians, takes up the theme of restoration:

> The Church of God arising this side of the dark ages in a remote backwoods area of Cherokee County, North Carolina, with approximately twenty-five members in 1903 will become world wide in promotion of the full gospel message of Jesus Christ.[48]

Stone and Dugger, like A J Tomlinson[49] were, of course,

claiming that their particular organisation is the one true church, a view adhered to by even the black leaders of this sect in Britain: "The full realisation of all the factors - sanctification, justification - the Church of God as the Apostles knew it, culminated in June 1903." The Church,

> ceased to function throughout the Dark Ages... until She arose again. It was 1903 the Pentecostal Movement was reborn... in North Carolina. Founded by A J Tomlinson.[50]

The themes of apostacy and restoration are however also common throughout the movement. In 1906, Frank Bartleman wrote from Los Angeles:

> Los Angeles seems to be the place, and this is the time, in the mind of God, for the restoration of the church to her former place, favor and power. The fullness of time seems to have come for the church's complete restoration. God has spoken to His servants in all parts of the world, and has sent many of them to Los Angeles, representing every nation under Heaven once more, as of old, come up for 'Pentecost', to go out again into all the world with the glad message of salvation... We are coming back from the 'dark ages' of the church's backsliding and downfall.[51]

Later he declared: "We are coming back to the beginning, ready to start, from the Church's fall" and added that "Possibly ninety per cent of religious demonstrations since the early church's fall has been human."[52] The Oneness leader, S C McClain, asks his readers to,

> ...note what mighty power was manifest from the first outpouring of the Holy Ghost throughout the time of the apostles, until signs of a falling away were seen and the church drifted away from God into one of the darkest periods ever known. But thanks be to our Christ who had promised to be with His people even to the end, this darkness could not continue when the light of a new day broke in and reformers began to preach Bible truths that had been lost in the age of darkness. The church began its return little by little as people could hear the light of truth.

> Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Knox, John Wesley, any [sic:and?] many others boldly preached a reformation of the church and brought it safely on its way towards Pentecost, the goal it has now begun to reach in these last days... Step by step the church has waded through the blood of its martyrs, and now the power of God's Word and the Holy Spirit has increased in the church so much that nearly all the doctrines of the New Testament and the power of signs and wonders are being restored. The heart cry of many saints is "Back to Pentecost," the goal that the writer believes will be fully reached as the time draws near for our Lord to return to earth again.[53]

g. SPIRIT BAPTISM EVIDENCED BY GLOSSOLALIA

The most emphasised aspect of this restoration is the post-conversion reception of Holy Spirit baptism with the initial evidence of glossolalia and the subsequent manifestation of **charismata pneumatica**. A small article in Seymour's **Apostolic Faith** newspaper, entitled 'Speaking in Tongues', declared:

> If you search the Scriptures carefully, you will find that when people get the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire, they will speak in tongues and magnify God. (Acts 10:46.)... So when you receive the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire, His power will be seen and heard upon you. People will hear new songs and speaking in tongues. (Acts 2:4; Acts 2:16,17.)[54]

Thomas Napier Turnbull of the Apostolic Church (a white British Trinitarian organisation) declares:

> This gift and baptism of the Holy Spirit is quite distinct from the work done in our hearts at regeneration. At the New Birth the Holy Spirit quickens us and makes us alive spiritually, but the New Testament never refers to this experience as the baptism of the Holy Spirit. On each of the occasions that the Holy Spirit was poured out in the Acts of the Apostles, it was on people who had already been regenerated.[55]

We will see later, however, that many Oneness Pentecostals do not make the distinction between regeneration and Spirit

baptism which most Trinitarians do.

A unique contribution of the early Pentecostal pioneers to the teaching and experience of the Holiness movement was the practice of speaking in other tongues as evidence of having received the Holy Spirit. Only in this respect did they differ significantly from their progenitors. The majority of Pentecostals maintain, as did Parham's Apostolic Faith Movement and Seymour's Azusa Mission, that:

> The Baptism with the Holy Ghost is a gift of power upon the sanctified life; so when we get it, we have the same evidence as the Disciples received on the Day of Pentecost, in speaking in new tongues.[56]

The Declaration of Faith of the Church of God (Cleveland) which is known in Britain as the New Testament Church of God, similarly states:

> We believe in speaking with other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance, and that it is the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost.[57]

The British Assemblies of God declare: "We believe in the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the initial evidence of speaking with other tongues", and the Apostolic Church teach that: "the coming of the Spirit to a person should be evidenced by the sign of speaking in tongues."[58] Turnbull declares that:

> One of the greatest proofs that tongues is a sign of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, is that all the one hundred and twenty people in the Upper Room spoke with tongues, and all the people in the house of Cornelius spoke with tongues, and all the twelve men at Ephesus spoke with tongues... tongues were the God-given sign of the baptism... This one supernatural sign was all the proof that they needed... So when we receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit we shall also speak with tongues.[59]

However, one British Pentecostal organisation adopted a less exclusive view. The Elim Pentecostal Church, while acknowledging glossolalia as an evidence of Spirit baptism, did not accept it as the sole initial evidence. Their Declaration of Faith states: "We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is the baptiser in the Holy Ghost, and that this Baptism with signs following is promised to every believer."[60] In this they follow the lead given by George Jeffreys in 1939 at the first European Pentecostal Conference in Stockholm. Jeffreys maintained that any of the supernatural gifts of the Spirit should be recognised as sufficient evidence of baptism in the Spirit.[61] Seymour's **Apostolic Faith** newspaper, while expounding the doctrine that tongues are the initial evidence, also addressed the question:

> What is the real evidence that a man or woman has received the baptism with the Holy Ghost?

And replied that this "real evidence" is:

> Divine love, which is charity. Charity is the Spirit of Jesus. They will have the fruit of the Spirit. Gal.5:22. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, meakness, faith, temperence"... This is the real Bible evidence in their daily walk and conversation; and the outward manifestations; speaking in tongues and signs following: casting out devils, laying hands on the sick and the sick being healed, and the love of God for souls increasing in their hearts.[62]

A later edition declared:

> The Pentecostal power, when you sum it all up, is just more of God's love. If it does not bring more love, it is simply a counterfeit... Pentecost makes us love Jesus more and love our brothers more. It brings us all into one common family.[63]

For most of the Pentecostal movement, however, glossolalia is the indispensable initial evidence of having received the Spirit baptism, and Raymon Hunston, writing in the **Elim Evangel** adopts a less liberal view than Jeffreys:

> The Baptism in the Spirit is characterised by the speaking with tongues at the receiving of this experience, and in subsequent personal worship.[64]

Although glossolalia is believed to be the indispensable initial evidence of Spirit baptism, few Pentecostal pastors will accept tongues as an infallible proof. The three-stage type Pentecostals insist that glossolalia must be preceded by sanctification and most Pentecostals - of all types - believe that tongues can be counterfeited by the devil. One black pastor told me:

> If your heart don't clean you cannot receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Because really the Spirit of the Lord wouldn't dwell into unclean vessels so your heart must be clean - sanctified. All these come before you can really receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost. We believe in speaking in other tongues as the Spirit give utterance. Now one thing we has [to be] careful with today, I discover, you see somebody says, "Speak in tongues." I discover... discerning through my spirit - because the Bible said, "Try the spirit [whether it] be of God." People can speak with tongues and is not the right one. This is one thing that you has [to be] careful of.[65]

The subsequent practice of glossolalic - after the initial evidence - has other functions: "Tongues magnify God; Tongues edify the speaker; Tongues are a source of rejoicing; Tongues can be used in spiritual song; Tongues can be used in prayer; Through tongues we can speak to God," and combined "with the gift of Interpretation of Tongues the Church may be edified."[66]

While the significance of Spirit baptism as understood by most Pentecostals of the early 20th century is generally accepted with few changes by the Pentecostals in Britain today, one exception concerns the evangelistic significance of glossolalia. The Keswick Movement, the early Pentecostals, and todays Pentecostals all believe that Spirit baptism is an enduement of power for evangelism. However, Parham, Seymour and their associates believed that glossolalia was also the miraculous granting of foreign languages to missionaries who would take part in fulfilling the last great sign of preaching the gospel in all the world before the Second Advent of Christ. Robert Mapes Anderson notes that this belief was not,

> as Pentecostal apologists would have us believe, an aberration entertained only by a few extremists. It was, rather, a fundamental and nearly universal notion during the first few years of the movement.[67]

The Azusa Mission asserted:

> The gift of language is given with the commission, "go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." The Lord has given languages to the unlearned, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Zulu, and languages of Africa, Hindu and Bengali and dialects of India, Chippewa and other languages of the Indians, Esquimaux, the deaf mute language, and, in fact the Holy Ghost speaks all the languages of the world through his children.[68]

The first issue of Seymour's **Apostolic Faith** is replete with references to and reports of xenoglossia:

> Let us lift up Christ to the world in all His fullness, not only in healing and salvation from all sin, but in His power to speak all the languages of the world. We need the triune God to enable us to do this.[69]

During the preaching service, the Holy Ghost fell on the preacher and he jumped to his feet shouting "Hallelujah!" and immediately spoken [sic] in tongues. He speaks Zulu and many tongues more fluently than English and interprets as he speaks.[70]

God called Bro. Mead and wife from the Central part of Africa to Los Angeles to get their Pentecost. They recognise some of the languages spoken as being dialects of Africa.[71]

A young lady who came to the meeting... was saved... she was sanctified and baptized with the Holy Ghost and had the gift of the Chinese tongue and was singing in Chinese in the Spirit.[72]

Brother Johnson has received seven different languages, one of which is Arabic Sister Leatherman speaks the Turkish language, and while in Oakland, some were talking on the streets about the gift of tongues, Sister Leatherman began to speak just as a man wearing the Turkish fez came by. He listened in wonder and asked what college she had attended, saying she spoke the most perfect Turkish tongue he had heard spoken by a foreigner. He was an educated man from a Turkish college in Constantinople. She told him the Holy Ghost gave her the language which she did not understand herself and he was the first person that had interpreted for her.[73]

> On Aug.11th [1906], a man from the central part of Mexico, an Indian, was present in the meeting and heard a German sister speaking in his tongue which the Lord had given her. He understood, and through the message that God gave him through her, he was most happily converted so that he could hardly contain his joy. All the English he knew was Jesus Christ and Hallelujah.[74]

"Different nationalities", concluded Seymour, "are now hearing the Gospel in their own 'tongue wherein they were born' [Acts 2]"[75] and A H Post wrote from the Azusa Mission declaring that:

> From here God has sent those living witnesses for him up the coast, for hundreds of miles across the continent, into China, India, Africa and Jerusalem, each able to speak in any language to whom God sends using the language thus given of God with absolute perfection.[76]

Numerous Pentecostal missioneries went abroad, without language training, believing that they would be able to communicate with the natives in their own tongues. They returned, disappointed at their failure and compelled to re-assess the purpose and significance of glossolalia. Few, like Parham, rejected this evidence and continued as late as 1925 to insist that:

> For twenty-five years I have spoken and prayed in other languages to the conversion of foreigners in my meetings... All the early missioneries for five hundred years spake in the language of the natives... [and] if God ever gave this gift, he can to day and that it should be proof of the calling of every one going to the foreign fields that they should be thus equipped by God with the gift of tongues.[77]

Most Pentecostals now dismiss those who believed in tongues as a means of world evangelisation as a-typical, when in fact, this was the generally accepted view.[78] The attitude of the majority of white British Pentecostals is accurately summed up in the following words of Donald Gee:

> In those early days of the movement there was a tendency to seek after identification of the languages spoken, doubtless because of traditional, but mistaken and unscriptural, views that the gift of tongues was "for preaching the gospel to the heathen".[79]

Later, Gee wrote:

> On the Day of Pentecost the disciples were all speaking with tongues before the crowd gathered; and as a matter of fact, it was "when this was noised abroad the multitude came together." They overheard their own dialects being uttered as the disciples were speaking "the wonderful works of God," but it is obvious that the crowd was not, at that time, being directly addressed. When the moment came to preach, it was Peter alone who spoke to the multitude, while the eleven stood with him, and he used one common language that all could understand (Acts 2:1-14).
>
> It is impossible to connect subsequent occasions when

> believers received the Holy Ghost and spoke with tongues with any thought of preaching the gospel for no unbelievers were present (Acts 10:46;19:6).
>
> Finally, in 1 Corinthians 14 we are explicitly told that "he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God, for no man understandeth him" (verse 2), and an equally supernatural gift of interpretation was needed to make the utterances intelligible to the assembly. So much, therefore, for the hoary fallacy that the gift was for "preaching to the heathen."[80]

Belief in xenoglossia, however, still persists. For example, an article in the **Pentecostal Times** of June 1980, published by the United Apostolic Faith Church (a white Trinitarian organisation), declared that, "such things still occur today" and gives an account of a French Pentecostal who prayed in English but subsequently claimed, "Je ne connais pas un mot d' Anglais".[81]

Many Pentecostals have claimed that the tongues spoken on the Day of Pentecost, those referred to in 1 Corinthians 12-14, and modern manifestations of speaking in tongues are identical phenomena.[82] However, others have made a distinction between xenoglossia: intelligible speech in a foreign language which is unknown to the speaker; and glossolalia: unintelligible, non-cognitive utterances.[83] A common view is that the tongues spoken on the Day of Pentecost were xenoglossia because they were understood by the assembled multitude, whereas those spoken at Corinth were glossolalia because they were unintelligible and required interpretation.[84] Cyril G Williams makes out a case for both the Pentecost and the Corinthian

manifestations of tongues being glossolalia.[85] However he also concedes that, "it is even possible that indispersed among inarticulate utterances would be actual identifiable words."[86] This is certainly true of some 20th century Pentecostal glossolalia which incorporates occasional identifiable words in a variety of languages which may have lodged in the unconscious of the speaker without his or her awareness.

That occasional cases of xenoglossia - even fluent xenoglossia - do occur among Pentecostals is not beyond the realms of probability since it is a reasonably well documented human phenomenon. David Christie-Murray, in is book **Voices from the Gods** cites numerous examples of xenoglossia which is not limited to Pentecostals or to those claiming the inspiration of the Spirit.[87] The evidence suggests that it is the result of languages, long forgotten (perhaps heard only once or in infancy) but lodged in the unconscious, breaking forth during mystical experiences, altered states of consciousness, "moments of crisis, physical injury or mental disturbance and illness."

Such cases, writes Christie-Murrey, have been "widely reported in the medical literature" and are generally explicable in terms of cryptomnesia.[88] While such states of mind do occur among Pentecostals they are not prerequisite for talking in tongues which often occurs during normal consciousness and without any evidence of disturbance or emotional crisis.

Granted that tongues are no longer generally considered to be known languages given for the purpose of evangelism, what then is their current significance for Pentecostals? Harrold Horton of the Assemblies of God considers that there are eight "Scriptural Purposes of Speaking with Tongues":

> (a) Speaking with Tongues is the Scriptural evidence of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit...
> (b) That men may speak supernaturally to God....
> (c) That believers may magnify God...
> (d) That we may edify ourselves...
> (e) That our spirits as distinct from our understanding may pray...
> (f) That with the Gift of Interpretation of Tongues the Church may be edified...
> (g) Tongues as a sign to them that believe not...
> (h) ...Tongues are among the gifts divinely appointed for our profit...[89]

More simply, Pentecostals often make a two-fold distinction concerning the functions of glossolalia: as the **evidence** or **witness** of Spirit baptism; and as a **gift** of the Spirit. The former, based on Acts and the latter on Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. **The Apostolic Faith** stated:

> You may not receive the gift of tongues when you receive the baptism with the Holy Ghost, but you receive the witness of tongues, that is to say, - you will speak in tongues when you are baptized with the Holy Spirit.[90]

M A Tomlinson, General Overseer of the Church of God of Prophecy, writes:

> Diverse tongues and the interpretation of tongues are in line with the Bible and are just as much in order today as they were in Paul's day but these gifts are separate and apart from speaking in tongues as evidence of the baptism with the Holy Ghost.[91]

Similarly, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World state that:

> We hold that there is a vast difference between (1) "speaking in OTHER tongues as the Spirit gives utterance" and (2) "the GIFT of tongues" mentioned by St.Paul's letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor.12-14). "Speaking in tongues" as the Spirit gives utterance is the supernatural, Spirit-enforced sign or witness of the Spirit's indwelling.[92]

h. ADVENTISM AND MILLENARIANISM

Not only did the early Pentecostals consider tongues to be known languages divinely granted for the purpose of evangelising the world before the Second Advent, they also believed that in conjunction with other "signs and wonders" and "signs of the times", glossolalia was evidence that the eschaton was immanent. Donald Gee said of these early Pentecostals that:

> Above all things, their hearts glowed with the expectation and conviction that this was destined to be the last revival before the coming of the Lord, and that, for them, all earthly history would soon be consumated by the "Rapture."[93]

The Apostolic Faith constantly referred to testimonies, prophecies and interpretations of tongues which proclaimed that "Jesus is coming soon".[94] The October 1906 issue announced:

> When the Holy Ghost fell on the one hundred and twenty it was the morning of the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. Today we are living in the evening of the dispensation of the Holy Ghost. And as it was in the morning, so it shall be in the evening. This is the last evangelistic call of the day. As John the Baptist was the voice of one crying in the wilderness: "Prepare the way of the Lord," so the voice of warning is going out through the land today to prepare the world for the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.[95]

Writing about two years later, Bartleman states that: "The supreme thought was that of Jesus' soon coming, and the evangelisation of the world in preparation for this."[96] Donald Gee, writing in 1941 recognised that the passing of time "has now produced a situation and an outlook vastly different from that which pertained at the beginning" yet, he states "that Hope remains".[97] In 1959, Turnbull of the Apostolic Church could still declare that: "God has in these last days before the Second Coming of Christ begun to pour out His Holy Spirit upon His powerless Church."[98] However, the sense of immediacy has been much attenuated and, while glossolalia is still understood as a sign of the "end time", more emphasis is now placed on the interpretation of world events as fulfilments of prophecies leading up to the end. The Church of God of Prophecy proclaim:

> The signs of His coming are all around. The arise of false christs, antichrists, demigods, cults and isms are but paving the way for the crowning of all false systems - the emergence of the antichrist. The war spirit that permeates the whole world must also be a "sign."... Another sign of the end of time will be the increase in famines, pestilences and earthquakes in different places... Finally, and perhaps foremost, the re-establishment of Israel and the control of Jerusalem have brought the world breathtakingly close to the fulfilment of Luke 21:24. Even a casual study of the prophecies in Isaiah, Ezekiel and Jeremiah point clearly to the arise of Israel at the time of the end.[99]

Peter R Warsop, Apostle of the Congregation of Yahweh, writes:

> The time of the Gentiles is far spent - Israel is again Master of Jerusalem - Soon and very soon the clouds will part and the Great King will be here.[100] Time is flying by, the nations are taking their

> places against Israel - the Prophetical scriptures are speedily being fulfilled, the Day of Yahweh is surely at hand. Let us lift up our heads and rejoice for Yashua's coming draws near, the day of redemption is at hand.[101]

Alfred S Missen, General Secretary of the Assemblies of God in Great Britain and Ireland, echoes the same theme:

> The drawing together of all the strands of prophecy is completing the tapestry of world history... The Church is in her final hour. "This generation shall not pass till all these things are fulfilled" (Matthew 24:39). The generation that sees these things begin to come to pass is surely the generation that will not pass away until all these things be fulfilled. Our generation may be the last generation before Christ returns.[102]

It is not within the scope of this dissertation to examine the many, varied and complex eschatological scenarios proposed by Pentecostals. Most, but not all, are variations of futurist dispensationalism with such designations as pre-tribulation, mid-tribulation, post-tribulation and partial rapture pre-millenialism![103]

The merging of Princetown theology with the dispensational pre-millenialism of the founder of the Plymouth Brethren, John Nelson Darby, in the late 19th century resulted in fundamentalism becoming increasingly identified with dispensationalism.[104] Dispensational pre-millenialism was effectively propagated by W E Blackstone, F W Grant, James W Gray, A C Gaebelin and C I Schofield, and became the majority view among Pentecostalism in the United States, the Caribbean and, to a lesser extent, in Britain. The publication of the **Schofield Reference Bible** in 1909 was particularly influential in undermining the few who held to

the historic (or historicist) pre-millenial position.

Darby's eschatological scenario owed a great deal to the theories of Francisco Ribera, a Jesuit theologian from Salamanca in Spain, who sought to oppose the tendency of the Protestant reformers to identify the Papacy as the Antichrist of the Apocalypse. George S Hitchcock wrote that:

> The Futuristic School, founder by the Jesuit Ribera in 1591, looks for Antichrist, Babylon, and a rebuilt temple in Jerusalem at the end of the Christian Dispensation.[105]

Darby also included pre-millenialism in his scenario and adopted the Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) pre-tribulation rapture teaching that the visible return of Christ would be preceded by a secret translation of the Church into heaven to rescue it from the great tribulation.[106] It is noteworthy that Darby's teaching of a two-stage Second Advent - first **for** the Church and then seven years later **with** the Church to begin the millenium - appears to have originated with Margaret MacDonald, of Port Glasgow in Scotland, who during the year 1830 received both a "revelation" that "a select group of Christians would be caught up to meet Christ in the air **before** the days of Antichrist", and also the gift of tongues![107]

The following scenario by Roy Mixon is fairly typical but not exclusive:

> The Scripture teaches the pre-millenial second coming of Jesus to resurrect the dead saints and to catch

> away the living saints to meet Him in the air for the marriage supper of the Lamb. Then He will return with the saints to reign on earth a thousand years. The righteous will come forth in the first resurrection at the appearing of Christ. The resurrection of the wicked will occur after the thousand-year-reign of Christ on earth."[108]

The period between the secret "rapture" (**harpadzo**) and the visible return of Christ to earth (**apokalupsis**) is generally believed to last for seven years during which time the Antichrist will be responsible for the Great Tribulation. After the millenium there is judgement before the great white throne, the wicked are punished with eternal torment and a new heaven and new earth created for the saints to dwell in.[109] In the words of A J Tomlinson, the Church

> "is just emerging from the darkness of the cloudy and dark day into the brilliant sunlight of the evening time, just before the sun sets behind the tremendous mountains of the great tribulation.[110]

i. GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT

The God of the Pentecostals is a God of miracles, signs and wonders, and such manifestations are to be expected when the Holy Spirit is poured out on His Church.[111] The Pentecostal author, Harold Horton, writes:

> The message of the whole of Scripture is that this miraculous super-nature of God should be manifest in His children. Life [sic:like] Father like son. And God has made full provision for the manifestation of that super-nature in His children in the Gifts of the Holy Spirit...God has provided in the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the resultant Gifts of the Spirit, means for the reproduction of His divine faculties in His children.[112]

Horton, in common with most Pentecostals, concentrates mainly on the nine **charismata pneumatica** referred to in 1

Corinthians Chapter 12 and categorises them in a typically Pentecostal way as:

> (1) GIFTS OF REVELATION:
> a. A Word of Wisdom. Supernatural revelation of divine purpose.
> b. A Word of Knowledge. Supernatural revelation of facts in the divine mind.
> c. Discerning of Spirits. Supernatural insight into the realm of spirits.
> (2) GIFTS OF POWER:
> a. Faith. Supernatural trust (passive) in God for the miraculous.
> b. The Working of Miracles. Supernatural intervention (active) in the ordinary course of nature.
> c. Gifts of Healing. Supernatural power to heal diseases.
> (3) GIFTS OF INSPIRATION
> a. Prophecy. Supernatural utterance in a known tongue.
> b. Diverse Kinds of Tongues. Supernatural utterance in an unknown tongue.
> c. Interpretation of Tongues. Supernatural showing forth of the meaning of other tongues.113

Pentecostals, with few exceptions, rarely consider the charismata listed in Romans 12:6-8; Ephesians 4:7,11,12 and 1 Peter 4:10,11 although there are more commonly references to Mark 16:17,18. The Apostolic Church, for example, lay great stress on the "five-fold ministry in Ephesians 4:11,12. Turnbull in common with most other Pentecostals stresses that:

> With the outpouring came the manifestation of the nine gifts of the Holy Spirit mentioned in 1 Corinthians, the twelth chapter.

However, he then goes on to say that,

> Some groups became possessed by a deep conviction... that the five gifts of the Ascended Lord to His Church were also for these days and should be in evidence in the Church, namely, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers.114

More typically Stone writes:

> The Church of God [of Prophecy] boldly stands for a manifestation of signs following believers today as they followed believers in the early Church.115

Similarly, Mixon states that:

> The spiritual gifts are set in the church to be operated through individual members as prompted by the Holy Spirit. We believe that... the same signs and wonders that Jesus said would follow the ministry of the Apostles should follow believers in every generation.116

While the "nine gifts" and "signs following" receive some attention, the major emphasis is upon glossolalia and healing and, to a lesser extent, on the interpretation of tongues, prophecy and exorcism.

Glossolalia has already been examined in some detail, however its use in congregational worship subsequent to the initial evidence of spirit baptism is often in conjunction with the gift of interpretation which, in practice, is virtually indistinguishable from the gift of prophecy. Gee writes that:

> It is distinctly affirmed that when the twin gifts of tongues and interpretation were exercised in proper order in the church, they equalled the gift of prophecy(1 Corinthians 14:5); and it is generally conceded that, since such is the case, they provide an equivalent method by which the Holy Spirit can cause His voice to be heard in the church.117

For Pentecostals, glossolalia has both **private** and **public** functions. The former is described by White as "a direct telephone link with the Father". White gives the following exposition of 1 Corinthians 14:14:

> When the commander of the European Forces wants to speak with the President of the USA, he speaks through a special "scrambler" phone. This phone codes all the words so that anyone listening will

> hear only gibberish, while the two who are talking understand what is being said.
> The devil knows all the world's languages, but when we pray in the Spirit we scramble the line - he can't understand! Praise God it is our private telephone, our Hot Line to the Father![118]

On the other hand, glossolalia if followed by interpretation makes "the message in tongues clear to the church, for, unless it is made clear, how can the church be edified (1 Corinthians 14:5)?"[119] Horton writes that:

> Interpretation of Tongues is the supernatural showing forth by the Spirit of the meaning of an utterance in other tongues. This interpretation is not an operation of the mind of the interpreter but the mind of the Spirit of God. [Note the similarity with the Pentecostal understanding of how the Bible was inspired.] The interpreter never understands the tongue he is interpreting, and it is no part of his task to provide equivalent terms in his own tongue for the supernatural words spoken. They are unknown words: so much so that they are quite indistinguishable in the phrases of which they form part. The interpretation is just as much a miracle as the original utterance in tongues. Both are utterances equally direct from the mind of the Spirit of God.[120]

Such "interpretations", though often banal and couched in the English of 1611, occasionally exhibit evidence of 'genuine' interpretation. That is to say, the interpreter operates in such a way that profound subliminal or intuitive perceptions are expressed. The same is equally true of all the "gifts of revelation".

Pentecostals define the gift of prophecy as,

> a supernatural utterance in the known, accepted tongue of the community. At it's best, it has no connection with human thought, reasoning, or intellect. [Again note the similarity with the Pentecostal view of Biblical inspiration.] It will be seen that this immediately destroys the myth that prophecy is the same as preaching. Prophecy is

> inspired utterance not born of intellect or study (Acts 2:18), while preaching, though it needs to be annointed, is the result of careful, prayerful study of the Word of God.121

While exorcism is not specifically referred to among the **charismata pneumatica** of 1 Corinthians 12, Pentecostals relate the gift of "discerning of spirits" to "deliverance" from their malign possession or influence. Thus Jones cites Paul's exorcism of "a spirit of divination" in Acts 16 as an example of this gift.122 The ideas of "discerning of spirits" exorcism and healing are closely related in the Pentecostal understanding of wholeness for the total person. Horton writes that among other things the gift of discerning of spirits is:

> To help in delivering the afflicted, oppressed, tormented. Demon possession is responsible today for more cases of mental derangement than most people recognise. For some inscrutable reason there is a general impression that Scripture cases of possession were local and temporary. Why? More infirmities and cruelties and suicides are attributable to evil spirits today than doctors conceive. Minds are still wrecked and driven by "cruel, tormenting spirits" (Mark 5:5; Luke 9:39), lashing into frenzy, pressing into violent acts and urging to self-destruction. Dreadful asylums are filled with mental wrecks that friends and experts have ceased even to be interested in; men and women who ought to be "loosed" by the Gifts of the Spirit, not "bound with chains" by the helpless authorities. Youthful hearts are driven by "unclean spirits" (Acts 5:16) to revolting talk and obscene behaviour and unspeakable diseases. The power of speech is robbed by "dumb spirits"; the light of day is darkened by "blind spirits"; the voices of beloved friends are muted by "deaf spirits" (Matthew 12:22; Mark 9:17,25); the frames and limbs of beloved mothers and tiny children are distorted and twisted and helped [sic] by "spirits of infirmity" (Luke 13:11,16). These are all cases not for osteopaths or chiropractors and psychotherapists but for simple believers equipped with the Gifts of the Spirit...
> But sometimes it is impossible apart from this Gift [of discerning of spirits] to know whether infirmity

> is the result of diseased organs or arrested functioning; whether sudden, total and incurable deafness, for instance, is the result of crushed aural nerves or simply spirit-power gripping a perfectly normal aural system. Obviously not all impediments are the work of evil spirits, but the Scriptures quoted and several others make it clear than many are. There is a Scripture difference, for instance, between "lunacy" and "demon possession" (Matthew 4:24). Modern doctors know nothing whatever of these things. Lunacy is sickness of the mind or brain and may be healed by the Gift of Healing. Demon possession is the occupation by evil spirits of a perfectly healthy body and mind, "swept and garnished" (Matthew 12:43-45), producing all the effects of derangement. Such possession will never yield to human methods. But **all** sickness whether of mind or body is represented in the Scriptures as "oppression of the devil" (Acts 10:38; Luke 13:16), and as such is subject to the corrective energy of the Gifts of the Spirit.123

From the earliest days of the 20th century Pentecostal movement, healing has assumed a major importance and many of the early Pentecostals not only rejected the medical profession but did so with a vengence. Charles W Conn, the Church of God (Cleveland) historian, states that:

> Many of the early Pentecostal people sincerely believed that to use physicians and their remedies was to consort with evil. Accepting medical aid was considered "leaning on the arm of flesh" and not on the arm of God. Yet they were not passive or unconcerned. Far from it. Believing they must trust God for divine healing, a time of sickness always meant a time of fasting and travail in prayer.124

In 1902 Parham wrote:

> The more proficient in relieving pain a system becomes, the more anti-Christian is its influence... the principal drugs used are poisons... and medical science stands with fettered hands in the presence of consumption, catarrh, cancers, fevers and many other diseases.125

For Parham, salvation included physical healing which was to be appropriated by faith and was also a prerequisite for receiving Spirit baptism. 126 Similarly, Seymour perceived

salvation and physical healing as two aspects of the atonement. In the **Apostolic Faith** of December 1906 he wrote:

> Through Jesus we are entitled to health and salvation of soul and body... All sickness is the work of satan, and we have just as much right to look to Jesus for the health of these bodies as for the saving and sanctifying of our souls.
> The sacrifice on Calvary was a two fold sacrifice. When we receive the atonement in all its fullness, we have health and salvation to the uttermost. The prophet said, "He was wounded for out transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities the chastisement of our peace was upon Him and with His stripes we are healed." He gave His blood for the salvation of our souls and He gave a perfect body for these imperfect bodies of ours.127

Seymour also shared Parham's antipathy towards the medical profession believing that physical healing should be accomplished through faith in Christ, by attendance at communion, laying on of hands, annointing with oil and prayer.

> Many are sickly and fall asleep because they will not discern the Lord's body. They will take a doctor before Jesus. They put a doctor between them and the atonement... The doctor gives you poison and you die because you dishonour the atonement... You come to the Lord's table and yet you do not believe in full salvation for soul and body.128

In response to the question: "Do you teach that it is wrong to take medicine?" Seymour answered:

> Yes, for saints to take medicine. Medicine is for unbelievers, but the remedy for the saints of God we will find in Jas.5:14, "Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, annointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."129

And in response to the question: "Does the Lord Jesus provide healing for everybody?" he asserted, "Yes; for all

those that have faith in Him," and added, "The sinner can receive healing."[130]

Such views are still adhered to by some Pentecostals in the present. M A Tomlinson, writing in 1961 declared:

> There are many benefits which are provided in the atonement... the salvation of our souls... and the healing of our bodies... When Christ was stricken and bruised it was for our healing as well as for the saving of our souls. The same verses which make us to know that salvation is available to us tell us that healing is provided for all who will accept it...
> Some would ask [,] if healing is provided in the atonement, why then is everyone not healed?... It is probable that the Lord requires us to meet certain conditions before we are healed... it seems that all who seek the Lord earnestly and ask in faith believing will be healed...
> Sometimes people are prayed for and are not healed. But when this happens, we can be sure that the failure is not God. He has provided healing for us and it is up to us to meet His conditions...[131]

For some Pentecostals, the negative attitudes towards the medical profession endure, although in a less strident form than that exhibited by Parham and Seymour. Tomlinson writes:

> In teaching divine healing, it is not our desire nor our intent to discredit medical science. As long as there are people who are not willing to accept salvation, there will probably be those who refuse to accept divine healing. The medical profession is to be commended for their untiring labors and faithfull efforts in relieving the suffering of those who do not know the Lord. But when a person experiences the blessings of salvation, it seems that he would want to honor the Lord by trusting Him completely.[132]

Horton of the Assemblies of God in Britain similarly states that:

> While we hope we should be among the last to speak disparagingly of hospitals, or of doctors and nurses who give so unsparingly of their time and efforts for

> the alleviation of human suffering, yet we must most emphatically state that modern medicine is not the legitimate fulfilment of Jesus' command to "heal the sick". Rather it is the negation, the neglect, if not the positive denial of it. And this is equally true of genuinely born-again "Christian doctors". The only "Christian physicians" acknowledged in the Scriptures are those ordinary believers who heal miraculously through these Gifts, or equally miraculously through the laying on of hands or annointing with oil. The supposition that the Lord Jesus heals today through Harley Street is no more Scriptural than the claim that He saves through Oxford. Medicine and surgery is the world's way. God's way, the only way revealed in the Word, is healing by supernatural divine power. These two ways are entirely opposed. True, many real Christians resort to the way of the unbeliever, but that does not alter the fact that it is the way of the unbeliever. Divine healing is the only healing authorised by the Scriptures. Medical healing is not, as some people declare, "God's second best". It is entirely of the educated world. God has no second best.[133]

Other Pentecostal writers assert that "people who would talk against doctors" with statements which identify them as "the tools of the Devil to keep people from exercising faith" are considered to be "cranks" by "the vast majority of Pentecostals"[134] Alexander Tee of the Elim Pentecostal Church writes:

> Surely it is not wrong to pray that God will guide the surgeon's hand. God has helped many a nurse and surgeon. Here is God working with nature and with men. Indeed, there is a case in the Bible where a prescription was given to a dying man. It was used as prescribed and the dying man lived (2 Kings 20:7 and Isaiah 38:21). Again, God blessed the nurses mentioned in Exodus 1:20.[135]

On the issue of why some people are not healed there is also diversity. Many Pentecostals, like the North American healing evangelists, assert that all can be healed and that failure to receive healing is symptomatic of a lack of faith.[136] On the other hand, there are Pentecostals who

stress the sovereignty of God. Jim Brandyberry (formerly of the United Pentecostal Church) writes:

> Many today are bewildered [,] realising that not all who are prayed for are healed. To this, we may merely point out that the same was true in the early church. (Epaphroditus - Philippians 2:25-27; I Timothy 5:23; Trophimus - II Timothy 4:20). Simply Him "who worketh all things after the council of His own will" does as He sees fit.137

While both 'Armenian' and 'Calvinistic' interpretations of the scope of divine healing are found in Pentecostalism, the gifts themselves are perceived as "the energy of **God** at work in and through the believer" that brings about healing. "In their final essence," writes Donald Gee, "they are the very **life** of the great Head of the Church, flowing by the Holy Ghost through the members of His body."138

One of the distinguishing characteristics of all the **charismata pneumatika** as they are understood and manifest among Pentecostals, is their operation below (or above) the level of consciousness. This, of course, is not the nomclature used by Pentecostals who, however, constantly stress that these gifts have nothing to do with human ability. The "Gifts of Revelation" and "Gifts of Inspiration" involve the welling up of the unconscious into consciousness while the "Gifts of Power", by their very nature, remain beyond the threshold of conscious expression. Thus, to quote Horton:

> THE WORD OF KNOWLEDGE...is not the sudden or gradual discovery or accumulation of things or facts about God or man: it is the divinely granted flash of revelation concerning things which were hopelessly hidden from the senses, the mind or the faculties of

men.139

> THE WORD OF WISDOM...is... the supernatural revelation, by the Spirit, of Divine Purpose; the supernatural declaration of the Mind and Will of God; the supernatural unfolding of His Plans and Purposes concerning things, places, people: individuals, communities, nations... The Word of Wisdom may... be manifest through the audible divine Voice. It may also be manifest by angelic visitation, by dream or vision, or through the spiritual Gifts of Prophecy, or Tongues and Interpretation.140
>
> DISCERNING OF SPIRITS... gives supernatural insight into the secret realm of Spirits... By its operation we may know the true source and nature of any supernatural manifestation, whether divine or satanic...141
>
> SPEAKING WITH TONGUES... is supernatural utterance by the Holy Spirit in languages never learnt by the speaker - nor understood by the mind of the speaker - nearly always not understood by the hearer... When a man is speaking with tongues his mind, intellect, understanding are quiescent.142
>
> INTERPRETATION OF TONGUES... is the supernatural showing forth by the Spirit of the meaning of an utterance in other tongues. This interpretation is not an operation of the mind of the interpreter but the mind of the Spirit of God.143
>
> PROPHECY... is the simplist form of divinely inspired and annointed utterance... It is a manifestation of the Spirit of God, and not of the human mind.144

By saying that the **charismata pneumatika** operate from beyond the level of consciousness is not to suggest that the pneumatic can be entirely limited to, or even identified with, the psyche.

As long as God, the Holy Spirit is recognised as the origin of such knowledge, wisdom and power, and these intuitions - perceptions via the unconscious - are subjected to conscious criticism and evaluation (see 1 Corinthians 14:29) the humble **pneumatikoi** will develop healthy

personalities. However, when such people believe themselves to be the source of such knowledge, wisdom and power they are well on their way to megalomania - and ecclesiastical history records the destructive force of this for both leader and followers. As the former become doctrinaire, humourless and fanatical, the latter treat a fallible man as if he were an infallible god and follow him to destruction. On the other hand, those who totally ignore the unconscious remain stunted and incomplete personalities. The possibility of various forms of extrasensory perception being in operation - telepathy, clairvoyance and precognition - should also not be totally discounted.145

j. DISTINCTIVE DOCTRINES OF THREE-STAGE PENTECOSTALISM

Walter J Hollenweger in **The Pentecostals** uses the terms "three-stage" and "two-stage" to designate the types of Pentecostalism which teach a three-stage and a two-stage way of salvation respectively.146 The three-stage Pentecostals (also known as second-work Pentecostals) are represented in Wolverhampton by the New Testament Church of God, The Church of God of Prophecy, The United Church of God, The Church of God Fellowship, Calvary Resurrected Church of God and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

In Great Britain as a whole there are some 44,300 three-stage adherents who are affiliated to approximately

430 congregations. Virtually all of them are black.

Three-stage Pentecostalism reflects the original teachings of Parham and Seymour who, to quote the latter's newspaper, stood for:

> First Work. - Justification is the act of God's free grace by which we receive remission of sins...
> Second Work. - Sanctification is the second work of grace and the last work of grace. Sanctification is that act of God's free grace by which He makes us holy...
> The Baptism with the Holy Ghost is a gift of power upon the sanctified life; so when we get it we have the same evidence as the Disciples received on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:3,4), in speaking in new tongues.[147]

Stone of the Church of God of Prophecy puts it rather more succinctly:

> The reason why a person is justified is to be sanctified, and the reason why a person is sanctified is to be filled with the Holy Ghost.[148]

While most Pentecostals are agreed on the nature of and necessity for justification, the three-stage Pentecostals teach that a second crisis experience is necessary that the penitent may be instantaneously sanctified. Stone makes the classic distinction between these first and second works of grace which are experienced as crises in the Pentecostal's life:

> In the act of justification the sinner has his personal trangressions forgiven; whereas, in the act of sanctification the pollution of sin which causes man to transgress is removed.[149]

A J Tomlinson writes that "to get sanctification requires a second trip to Jesus" to have "a work done that was not touched by the first trip." During this second crisis "the

soul passes to a state of entire sanctification."[150] "It should also be made clear" writes A J Tomlinson's son and heir to the leadership of the Church of God of Prophecy, "that the experience of sanctification is received instantaneously. It is not received by gradual growth as some would have you believe..." In fact, "continues Tomlinson, "a sanctified life is a life free from sin."[151] This crises experience, writes Stone, "is an act of God through the Word and the Spirit whereby the 'old man' (man's corruptive condition) is completely eradicated by the blood of Jesus Christ."[152]

k. DISTINCTIVE DOCTRINES OF TWO-STAGE PENTECOSTALISM

In chapter one we briefly outlined the controversy which ultimately led in 1914 to the formation of the Assemblies of God in the United States. Before about 1910 most of the Pentecostal movement taught a three-stage soteriology. However, from around 1908 William H Durham was propagating a "Baptist" understanding of sanctification which he referred to as "the Finished Work of Calvary."[153] Justification and sanctification were considered to take place simultaneously rather than as first and second works of grace.

> I denied, and still deny [,wrote Durham,] that God does not deal with the nature of sin at conversion. I deny that a man who is converted and born again is outwardly washed and cleansed but that his heart is left unclean, with enmity against God in it... This would not be salvation. Salvation is an inward work. It means a change of heart. It means a change of nature. It means that old things pass away and that all things become new. It means that all

> condemnation and guilt is removed. It means that all the old man, or old nature, which is sinful and depraved, and which was the very thing in us that was condemned, was crucified with Christ.[154]

While some of Durham's followers accepted that conversion and sanctification occurred at a single crisis experience, others understood sanctification as an ongoing process. What they were agreed on was that sanctification is not a second work of grace.[155] These Pentecostals taught a soteriology with only two stages: conversion and Spirit baptism. "By the end of the 1920s," writes Robert Mapes Anderson, "three of every five Pentecostals had adopted the Finished Work view of sanctification," and adds that "the Finished Work movement proved far more attractive to whites than blacks":

> While two of every three white Pentecostals became Finished Work believers, only one in eight blacks did so. As a consequence, the proportion of blacks in the Finished Work camp was very much less than that in the Second Work wing; about seven percent as compared to thirty percent.[156]

In Britain, two-stage Pentecostalism is overwhelmingly white with most of it's 86,000 members in some 980 congregations of the Assemblies of God or the Elim Pentecostal Church. Two-stage Pentcostalism comprises about fifty-four percent of the total in Britain.[157] In Wolverhampton there are only three such congregations: the Assemblies of God, The Italian Assemblies of God and the independent Wolverhampton Revival Centre. All are prdominantly white although the Assemblies of God have some black members.

1. DISTINCTIVE DOCTRINES OF ONENESS PENTECOSTALISM

In chapter one we also outlined the "New Issue" controversy which resulted in the Oneness Pentecostals withdrawing from the Assemblies of God in 1916. Oneness Pentecostalism generally advocates the same understanding of sanctification as the two-stage camp from which it withdrew.[158] However, in Britain there is a degree of ambivalence because some Oneness Pentecostals have come from a three-stage Pentecostal background. What makes Oneness Pentecostalism distinctive, however, is their use of the simple formula in water baptism, there modalistic understanding of the Godhead with a concomitant rejection of Trinitarianism, and a soteriology which includes both water and Spirit baptism.

Parham's baptismal doctrine and practice are remarkable for their changeability. As a Methodist, he had rejected water baptism completely. Then he adopted the practice of believers baptism by single immersion in "the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (as it is practised today by three-stage and two-stage Pentecostals alike). Later still - in 1900/1901 - he adopted triple immersion as Dowie had done. However, Parham was to change his view on water baptism a fourth time. In his own words:

> One day, meditating alone in the woods, the Spirit said, "Have you obeyed every command you believe to be in the Word?" We answered, "Yes." The question was repeated; the same answer was given. The third time the question was asked, we answered "No," for like a flood the convincing evidence of the necessity of obedience rushed upon us, how Peter said, "Repent

> and be baptised everyone of you in the name of Jesus Christ."

During his time at Stone s Folly (1901/2) when he and his students at the College of Bethel experienced glossolalia, "the Spirit of God said: 'we are buried by baptism into His death... God the Father, and God the Holy Ghost never died'." Parham concluded:

> we could not be buried by baptism in the name of the Father, and in the name of the Holy Ghost, because it stood for nothing, as they never died or were resurrected. So if you desire to witness a public confession of a clean conscience toward God and man, faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ, you will be baptized by single immersion, signifying the death, burial and resurrection; by being baptized in the name of Jesus, into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; they are one when in Christ you become one with all.[159]

From the earliest days of 20th century Pentecostalism, both the simple and triadic formulae were used to administer believers' baptism,[160] but this became a divisive issue in 1913 following a pre-baptismal sermon preached by the Canadian Pentecostal, Robert E McAllister at a camp meeting in Los Angeles. McAllister concluded his sermon by saying:

> The Apostles invariably baptized their converts once in the name of Jesus Christ; that the words Father, Son and Holy Ghost were never used in Christian baptism.[161]

Early one morning John G Scheppe, who had spent the night in prayer, ran shouting through the camp. Harry Horse wrote:

> After we listened to Brother Scheppe's new ideas on water baptism in Jesus' name, and the oneness of the Godhead, we agreed that we believed that he had something.[162]

Many finished work (two-stage) Pentecostal preachers -

including the influential black minister and hymn writer, Garfield Thomas Haywood - took up the message of baptism using the simple formula and the practice rapidly spread, particularly in the Assemblies of God. After the Oneness Pentecostals left the Assemblies of God in 1916 to organise themselves into a variety of groups, further doctrinal developments took place.

While all references to water baptism in Acts, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians and Colossians imply the simple formula, the triadic formula in Matthew 28:19 had to be explained. Fundamentalists cannot admit to contradictions, and their view of inspiration ruled out any consideration of textual, literary or form criticism, although, paradoxically, this anomaly is explained away by using an artifice vaguely akin to linguistic criticism.

Lewis Manuwal summarises the argument:

> Matthew 28:19 was a command by Jesus to baptize in the NAME. The Apostles did not repeat the words of the command, but they did obey it (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 4:12; Col.3:17)... Since Father, Son and Holy Ghost are titles or manifestations of the Almighty Spirit and His body, the Apostles understood His SAVING NAME to be Jesus... THE NAME OF THE FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST IS LORD JESUS CHRIST.[163]

Oneness Pentecostals stress that the command is to baptise in a single name, not a plurality of titles. "What is the NAME of the Father?" asks Oliver F Fauss, and quotes John 5:43 and 17:6 in answer, where Jesus is recorded as saying: "I AM come in My Father's NAME" and "I have manifested Thy NAME (the Father's) unto the men which thou gavest me out

of the world."[164] "It is clear," continues Fauss, "that the NAME of JESUS is the NAME of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost..."[165] John Paterson answers the question: "What about the Name of the Holy Ghost?" by quoting John 14:26 and Matthew 18:20: "The Father will send the Comforter IN MY NAME" and "Where two or three are gathered together IN MY NAME, there AM I in the midst of them." "To say the least," continues Paterson, "these Scriptures apply the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ to the Holy Spirit, and you will search the Bible in vain for any other name for Him."[166]

Not surprisingly, baptism using the simple formula rapidly developed into an understanding of the Godhead which was in direct conflict with the crude, simplistic and anthropomorphic understanding of the Trinity which most of the two-stage Pentecostals adhered to. The Oneness Pentecostals propounded a modalistic, revelational or economic Trinity and, while rejecting the word 'Trinity' because it "is not in the Bible" they adopted an equally unbiblical term for their doctrine: "Oneness". They also argued that,

> the word "persons" when used regarding the Godhead, does violence to the absolute Oneness of God. Dividing God into three persons makes three Gods, which is Tri-theism regardless of how it may be argued otherwise.[167]

There is undoubtedly some truth in this statement, for both Trinitarian and Oneness Pentecostals tended to use the term 'person' in the modern sense of 'self conscious being'

rather than as the English equivalent of the Greek **prosopon** or Latin **persona** which, of course, was also ambiguous. Even Augustin of Hippo stated that the term was not a good one and was only used "in order not to be silent."[168]

Paul Ferguson summarises the Oneness doctrine in his book **God in Christ Jesus** which he sub-titles as "The United Pentecostal Church's Answer to Carl Brumback's GOD IN THREE PERSONS!"

> We maintain that:
> I ONE God has manifest Himself in THREE principal forms:
> 1. He is Father in creating, loving, chastening, providing, directing, and sustaining.
> 2. He unveiled, in human form, a portion [used in a **spacial** sense only] of His omnipresent, invisible self which became the Son in redemption.
> 3. He is a spirit; and as the Holy Ghost He lives and works in men's hearts.
> II This one God exists indivisibly in ONE person whose Old Testament name was Jehovah, whose New Testament name is Jesus.[169]

Arthur L Clanton, also of the United Pentecostal Church, writes that,

> they affirm that there is only one Person in the Godhead. This is based on Paul's declaration of Jesus: "...for in him dwelleth all the **fullness** of the Godhead **bodily**"
> Oneness adherents believe that God is a Spirit, and, as such, is omnipresent, and invisible. A spirit does not have flesh and bones (a corporal body), as is declared in Luke 24:39.
> ...they affirm: "The one true God, the Jehovah of the Old Testament took upon Himself the form of a man, and, as the son of man, was born of the Virgin Mary. As Paul says, "**God** was manifest in the flesh..."[170]

The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, the oldest Oneness organisation which is predominantly black in the United States and completely black in Britain, state:

> We fully believe in the mystery of the Godhead. We believe that Jesus was both human and divine, and further, that the Godhead be understood to mean all the fullness of God. (Colossians 1:19 and 2:9) We believe that Jesus was Mary's son and Mary's God, Creator and creature, God manifest in the flesh; the flesh of Jesus was the same as ours with the exception that it had no sin; that Jesus was the Eternal Father made visible, apart from whom there is no God. We believe that at the final consummation of all things there will be only one God, and that will be our Lord Jesus Christ.171

The following extract from a statement by the all black Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith, however, outshines all others in terms of credal structure and obscure phraseology, and includes something which sounds very much like the Roman Catholic dogma of immaculate conception:

> ...there is but one God, in essence and in person - one - from Whom and in Whom there is a divine three-fold manifestation and relationship made known as the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. First, as Father-Creator, source, origin, and progenitor of all things and souls, Universal Father, and Father of Eternity, without body or parts, self-existent; that is, existent of Himself and by Himself, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent. Second, as Son of Man in redemption of man from sin, coming into the world through the immaculate conception and virgin birth, thus assuming a personality, the second greatest mystery of all times; a body for the purpose of redemption through death of those who had sinned and fallen short of the glory of God - God's lamb that taketh away the sins of the world. Thirdly, the Holy Spirit, regenerator and perfector of those who believe, the organizer and element of the church, the divine executor and head. This trinity of manifestation of relationship may be compared to the soul, body, and spirit of operation in every man. The Father, the Divine Essence, Spirit, and the all-begotten Divinity corresponds to the soul of man. The Son is the humanity of Jesus Christ made divine and united to the Father-Spirit or in other words - the Divine Humanity answering to the body of man. The Holy Spirit is the Divine-Proceeding Energy out of the Son from the Father who dwelleth in the son. This answering to the operation of man's spirit and body together; therefore, God as Father is Creator

> and first cause of all things from eternity. As Son, the Redeemer in time, and as the Holy Spirit - the Regenerator in the church to eternity. THE LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST IS THAT GOD. 172

A third distinctive doctrine within the Oneness organisations, which has majority, if not universal support, is a distinctive three-stage ordo salutis. "The Bible standard of full salvation," according to the predominantly white United Pentecostal Church,

> is repentance, baptism in water by immersion in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the baptism of the Holy Ghost with the initial sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.173

In the preface to a King James version of the Bible published by the United Pentecostal Church in 1973, it states that:

> Just as Jesus Christ experienced death, burial, and resurrection in providing our salvation, we experience a type of death, burial, and resurrection in receiving salvation through the steps of repentance, baptism in Jesus' name, and the infilling of the Holy Ghost.174

The predominantly black Pentecostal Assemblies of the World similarly state:

> The New Birth ("being born again"), include [sic] a genuine repentance, water baptism in Jesus' Name, and Baptism of the Holy Ghost, evidenced by the speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.175

The key soteriological text for Oneness Pentecostals is found in Acts 2:38 which records Peter s response on the Day of Pentecost to the question:

> Men and brethren, what shall we do?
> Then Peter said unto them [,] "Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.["]176

In theory, if not always in practise, the official doctrine

is that those who have not repented, been baptised in Jesus' name and been filled with the Spirit with the evidence of glossolalia remain unsaved. One pastor of the First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) declared:

> If you want to come up in the first resurrection, you better receive the Holy Ghost. If you come up in the second resurrection you come up to face the judgement.177

The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World conclude,

> that no person is to be given the right hand of fellowship as a member of our church unless he is baptized in water in Jesus' Name and filled with the Holy Spirit (Ghost) with Biblical evidence of speaking in other tongues as the Spirit of God giveth utterance.178

In Britain there are about 21,500 Oneness Pentecostals in over 200 congregations, most of which are black. They comprise some fourteen percent of all Pentecostals in Britain and are represented in Wolverhampton by the overwhelmingly black Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, the First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic), the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Apostolic)[known in the United States as the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith], the Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) which is also three-stage, and a predominantly white congregation of the United Pentecostal Church.

m. ETHICS AND TABOOS: THE EVIDENCE OF SANCTIFICATION

The Church of God Fellowship sing with passion:

> Live, Christian live,
> Live a life of holiness.
> Live, Christian live,
> Live a life of holiness.
> And if you can't testify, **live**!
> And if you can't preach you can **live**!
> For you cannot hide from the eyes of the Lord,
> So **live**, Christian, **live**! 179

Inspite of differing doctrines of sanctification among Pentecostals, the visible and behavioural evidence of sanctification - "the indications of a holy life"180 - is very similar and differs more in degree than content. The two-stage Pentecostals tend to be the most liberal, with the three-stage and Oneness Pentecostals the most rigid. Because most of the former are white and most of the latter black, this takes on the characteristic of an ethnic sub-cultural difference. David Powell, a two-stage Pentecostal, writes:

> If our inward holiness is right, then it will of necessity be outwardly right.
> Those people who say that they are saved and belong to Christ and are dirty, dishevelled and undisciplined are a disgrace to the name of Christ, because this is contrary to decency.181

All three types of Pentecostal organisation oppose the use of alcohol and tobacco 182 but the three-stage and Oneness sects also impose a plethora of other regulations and taboos which include restrictions on certain types of clothing:

> ...the wearing of shorts in public, any of our members donning bathing suits and bathing in public pools or at beaches.183

For most black three-stage and Oneness Pentecostals, "modest apparel" (1 Timothy 2:9) has nothing to do with expense or ostentation but determines that women s clothing has "high-enough necklines, low-enough hemlines, sleeves of reasonable length" and is not made from "extremely sheer fabrics."[184] The Church of God of Prophecy, however, do stipulate:

> Your dress should be with moderation, neat and clean, but not for show. Moderation includes paying moderate prices for clothing...[185]

Anyone who has attended a black Pentecostal convocation in England - especially a Church of God of Prophecy convention - would see-what a dead letter this piece of legislation is! With the exception of the Church of God of Prophecy all women in black congregations are expected to have their heads covered.

The practice of women wearing trousers is looked upon with disfavour because it breaks the taboo against transvestism:

> We believe Deut. 22:5 to mean that no man should adorn himself to appear as a woman and a woman should not adorn herself to appear as a man.[186]

Cosmetics are disapproved of [187] and members required to refrain from "wearing jewelery for ornament or decoration, such as finger rings... bracelets, earings, lockets, etc. ..."[188] As with the dress taboos, this effects women far more than men who are free to wear cufflinks and tie pins. The Church of God of Prophecy also forbid the wearing of wedding rings.[189]

Three stage and Oneness Pentecostalism encourages their members to,

> adhere to the scriptural admonition that our women have long hair and our men have short hair as stated in 1 Corinthians 11:14,15.190

However, because "there are races of people in the world whose women have short hair and it will not grow long at all," such a ruling is problematic. While it may not be considered "a sin" if a woman cuts her hair, she is advised against it.191 Perming (and hair straightening for Afro-Caribbean women), although not banned is also disapproved of by some older Pentecostals.192

Attendance at places of entertainment, recreation and the arts is strictly limited with taboos

> against members attending movies, dances and other ungodly amusements; further, that extreme caution be exercised in viewing and in the selectivity of televisions programmes.193

Other versions of this 'index prohibitorum' include "theatres", "all worldly sports", "unwholesome radio programmes", "shows", "dancing classes", 194 and

> Dabbling with worldly amusements like professional ball games, horse races, stock car races, wrestling arenas, skating rinks, motion picture houses or drive-in theatres, bowling alleys, and going swimming where men and women both use the same bathing area would give the devil a foothold or place in your life.195

The "saint" should spend such leisure time in "Godly pursuits" such as attending "every regular service", evangelism, prayer and Bible study. While the cinema and

its films are condemned, many of those same films are watched a few years later on television, and North American 'soap operas' are particularly popular with Pentecostal women.

Membership of "lodges", "secret societies, or any other organisation or body wherein there is a fellowship with unbelievers, bound by a oath" is condemned and trade union membership looked upon with some degree of disfavour.196 In fact, any organisation or activity which may divide the loyalty, or divert the time, money and energy of the sect member is viewed with disapproval or castigated as sinful. Thus, the evidence of sanctification primarily consists of obedience to the sect's rules, compliance with its prohibitions, total involvement in its activities and a concomitant withdrawal from secular pursuits. Such obedience, abstinence and commitment is, of course, rationalised as dedication to Christ.

Pentecostals have little or nothing to say concerning the creation of wealth. Certain occupations are disapproved of - "working in a pub or selling tobacco we don't believe in." 197 Teaching biology and thus the theory of evolution falls under a similar condemnation, however, there are not too many Pentecostal biology teachers. While there are restrictions on economic consumption, the means and mode of production are never questioned. Labour is perceived as a necessity of life, though alienated from it. It is a means

by which the individual is economically empowered to share in the support of the sect. The ideas of calling, personal development and self fulfilment are exclusively associated with sect involvement; never with secular employment. For the Pentecostal, religion has little to do with work; much to do with leisure. The exploitation of labour and the resources of the third world; the distribution of wealth, both nationally and globally are not questioned. Teaching on wealth is virtually limited to restrictions on certain kinds of consumption - alcohol, tobacco, jewelery, gambling and "worldly entertainment" - and payment to the sect of "tithes and offerings".

All Pentecostal sects teach that, in addition to "freewill offerings", their members should pay one tenth of their income to God, which in practise means giving it to the sect. The Apostolic Church write:

> The giving Tithes to God is a moral obligation upon every man (Gen.14:20; 28:22)... to give tithes is to give back to God (in thankful recognition of His goodness) one-tenth part of all the increase which from time to time He gives to us (Prov.3:9; Gen.28:22). To withhold the tithe is to "rob" God (Mal.3:8,9)...[198]

"After fulfilling the obligation of tithing, the Christian is then free to give offerings to the Lord (II Cor.8:1-8)."[199] This 'freedom', however, is also the freedom of duty. The Apostolic Church writer insists that, "Such giving of offerings is [also an] obligation of the Christian life."[200] Not only is tithing mandatory, it is presented as a means of obtaining both the material and

spiritual "blessing of God".[201] Thus the motives for tithing are rather less than altruistic. The poor in particular are told that:

> The man who has the least cannot afford to withhold the tithe, for he needs the blessing of God on his field the most.[202]

> Tithing is God's means of providing for both the ministry and the saints who tithe.[203]

God not only provides materially for those who tithe but also "opens the windows of heaven" in spiritual blessing.[204] One of the Apostolic Church's prophets, E D Hamond, speaking 'charismatically' in the first person, declares:

> There is a principle that I would underline and outline to you at this time. **Bring all your tithes into the storehouse, then I will pour out of My Spirit,** then I will minister and commend some for bringing that which is Mine unto Myself. I say that there are those who are withholding. When you will come to the place to bring all to the storehouse, **then I will visit, then I will move, then will I make** Mine arm bare.[205]

Thus sect members are encouraged to tithe by dire warnings that failure to do so is "STEALING FROM GOD",[206] and by assurances that both material and spiritual blessings will accrue to those who give.[207] The Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Apostolic) sing during the offering:

> Give what you have and the Lord will give you more;
> Give what you have there is something more in store.
> If you give what you have,
> The Lord will give you more.
> Give what you have unto the Lord.[208]

While tithes are for "the support of the ministry only" ministry is defined not only "as the office, duties, or functions of a minister" but also as "the building in which

the business of the ministry is transacted... church property, equipment, maintenance, etc."[209] Tithes are for the perpetuation of the sect and their collection is justified as giving to God.

In the realm of ethics, Pentecostals have little or nothing 'official' to say on such issues as world hunger, racism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons which are more likely to be interpreted as eschatological "signs of the times" than as issues deserving Christian involvement. A recent (1986) book edited by Perry Gillum and Rob Allen entitled, **Issues: A Biblical Perspective on Current Social Themes**, seeks to defend "the authority of the Bible", the "sanctity of life", marriage, "the family", "holiness" and "theocracy", and to condemn "humanist religion", abortion, the "sexual revolution", divorce and "ecumenical unity".[210] There is nothing about concern for the poor, social stratification, power and domination, social organisation, prejudice and discrimination, sexism, unemployment, environmental pollution, economics, politics, violence, social change and the problems associated with the inner city. The fundamental organisation and stratification of society is accepted without questions as an unchangeable reality of the natural order. Three out of twelve chapters deal with one of Pentecostalism's major themes: sexual morality and the monogamous family unit. "Sexual intercourse before proper marriage is not acceptable with God. It is a sin." Writes Robert Pruitt. Adultery is

similarly condemned, as is homosexuality, which Pruitt describes as, "a deviation from normal sex and a perversion of normal sexual satisfaction as well as a sin..."[211] However, "the power of the Holy Spirit is capable of changing the lifestyle and habits of every sinful creature" so that the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World "commend persons who are inclined to homosexuality to seek help and deliverance through the Holy Spirit and counselling."[212]

Most Pentecostal sects permit the "innocent party" to divorce the "guilty party" and to remarry in cases of "fornication". However, the term "fornication - translated from the Greek **porneia** - is variously defined. For the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World and the majority of Pentecostals, it is a generic term refering to "the indulgence of all unlawful sex desires", and in practise is generally used with reference to adultry; while for the Church of God of Prophecy fornication is the act of re-marrying after being divorced or marrying a divorced person whose estranged spouse is still alive. Thus for the Church of God of Prophecy the only ground for divorce and remarriage is that ones spouse is a divorcee whose ex-partner is still alive.[213]

All Pentecostal sects encourage Christian endogamy -justified by reference to 2 Corinthians 6:14 - but many black Pentecostal sects demand that their members find spouses within a particular doctrinal wing of the

Pentecostal movement or even within their particular sect. As the ratio of eligible Pentecostals averages around four women to one man, the marriage prospects of most women are somewhat restricted to say the least. This is further exacerbated by the fact that celibacy is not valued by Pentecostals and the passages of scripture which argue in favour of it are largely ignored. It is not regarded as a charisma. The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World insist that,

> those who have been baptized in the name of Jesus Christ and in the Holy Spirit should not contract marriages with persons who have not been baptized in the name of Jesus Christ and in the Holy Spirit.214

And stipulate that,

> discipline should be exercised upon any of our members who contract marriages contrary to our teaching.215

Three-stage Pentecostals apply much the same rules, insisting that the prospective spouse conform to the doctrine and practice of the congregation into which he or she is marrying. This 'all or nothing' attitude has resulted in many young black women not only "backsliding" by marrying an "unsaved" partner but also rejecting the sect with a vengence. The unwillingness of black Pentecostals to recognise such "unequal" marriages means that many women must leave the sect if they are to find a husband.

The taboos against certain types of pastime and entertainment are often justified on the basis of an

assumption that they promote or encourage sexual immorality. In fact, the very word 'morality' generally has an exclusively sexual meaning for Pentecostals, most of whom would find the terms "political morality" or "economic morality" meaningless.

The "sanctified" Pentecostal "saint" is thus he or she who complies with the sect s rigorism in abstaining from alcohol, tobacco and "worldly" or secular amusements and associations; dressing (in the case of women) with sexual modesty, refraining from wearing trousers or jewelery and abstaining from using make up; regularly attending services and consistently paying tithes to the sect, and leading a celibate or endogamous and monogamous life. The Church of God Fellowship express their commitment in song:

> Goodbye world, I stay no longer with you;
> Goodbye pleasures of sin, I stay no longer with you;
> I've made up my mind to go God's way,
> The rest of my life.
> I've made up my mind to do God's will,
> The rest of my life.

n. PENTECOSTAL SACRAMENTS

In 1907 Seymour wrote:

> We believe in three ordinances in the church, foot washing, the Lord s supper and water baptism.[16]

In 1977 James Stone of the Church of God of Prophecy echoed Seymour's position but used the term 'sacraments rather than 'ordinances'.

> These three - the Lord's Supper, the Washing of the Saints Feet and the Water Baptism - are the only sacraments recognised by the Scriptures and by the

> Church... The Church must continually baptize in water, break bread and share the fruit of the vine, and wash the saints' feet to have the continued favor of God.217

In common with most churches, the Pentecostals recognise the sacraments of Communion - usually called "the Lord's Supper"- and water baptism. Strictly speaking, for most Pentecostals, the Eucharist is not understood sacramentally but in broadly Zwinglian terms as an ordinance: an act of simple obedience. However, they consider that failure to keep these ordinances is to risk alienation from God.218 Paradoxically, while Seymour referred to foot washing as an ordinance and some three-stage and Oneness Pentecostals refer to it as a sacrament, it was Seymour who accorded the act sacrament.l significance:

> This is the first place in the Scriptures where we see Jesus using water, a very type of regeneration, washing the disciples' feet. Regeneration is spoken of as the washing of water by the Word. So this ordinance is a type of regeneration. Jesus is the Word. 'Now ye are clean through the Word which I have spoken unto you. ['] John 15:3.219

A few black pastors in Britain hold a very high view of Communion verging on transubstantiation. One black Pentecostal pastor, for example, lifting the Communion cup (containing ginger punch) intoned: "We pray God that you will change the substance of this into the blood of Christ."220

Most two-stage Pentecostals in Britain - who are overwhelmingly white - practise a weekly communion.221 On the other hand, the majority of three-stage and Oneness

Pentecostals - who are mainly black - do not normally make communion more than once a month.[222] Many of the Oneness Pentecostals - inspite of the alcohol taboo - use wine for communion, [223] while others along with most two-stage and three-stage Pentecostals use grape juice, Ribena or a variety of other red liquids.[224]

Most white British Pentecostals assert that:

> there are [only] two universally accepted sacraments given by the Lord for use in the Church of Christ. One is the Sacrament of baptism in water (Matt.28:19); the other is the Lord's Supper (I Cor.i:23-25). [225]

Three-stage and Oneness Pentecostals (i e. the majority of black Pentecostals in Britain) in common with Seventh Day Adventists, also practise the sacrament of pedilavium: "feet washing" [226] which usually, though not invariably precedes [227] or follows [228] communion (see i John 13:14-17). The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World write that:

> This ordinance is as much a divine command as any other New Testament ordinance. Jesus gave us an example that we should do as He had done. He said we ought to wash one another's feet. Again, "if ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." (St.John 13:4-17.) There is scriptural evidence that this was practiced by the church in the days of the Apostle Paul. (1 Timothy 5:10).[229]

Similarly, Stone of the Church of God of Prophecy, writes:

> Jesus Christ instituted feet washing and commanded, 'If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet (John 13:14)... the practice of pouring water into a basin, kneeling down and washing feet in the same manner of Jesus, and then drying them, is to be continually observed because Christ commanded it to be so."[230]

While Seymour and the United Pentecostal Church suggest that feet washing is significant as a manifestation of "the spirit of humility"[231] and the Church of God of Prophecy refer to it as a sacrament[232], it - like communion - is treated by the majority simply as an ordinance but by a minority as an essential - even soteriological sacrament. In the words of a United Church of God minister:

> Without feet washing you have no part in the Kingdom of God.[233]

On another occasion he declared:

> We take everything literally. He [Jesus] said, "wash the saint's feet" - well we hold to it when Peter said, "well don't wash my feet," and He [Jesus] said, "well Peter if I wash you not, you have no part with me." And if it was so important that Christ should say, "well Peter you and I will part company and go separate roads," then there must be some significance in the act.[234]

Just what that significance is to Pentecostals has not been made explicit, except to assert that they are left "without any part with Jesus" if they "do not wash one another's feet".[235] A J Tomlinson asks that:

> Since Peter could have no part with Jesus without feet washing, who else can?[236]

But also concedes that, "This is one of the things we are to practice without knowing what it is for."[237]

> The Master say you have to wash;
> Wash one another's feet.
> Peter if I wash you not,
> You have no part in me.

Sing the Wolverhampton congregation of the United Church of God. The next chorus reflects the same theme:

> They call us the washful [sic] people;
> That's all right.
> So long as I'm living holy;

That s all right
Holy, holy, holy;
That's all right.[238]

Water baptism has already been examined on some detail, particularly as it relates to the soteriology of Oneness Pentecostals, for whom this sacrament in conjunction with Spirit baptism is often considered to be the means of regeneration (see John 3:5).[239] The United Pentecostal Church assert that,

> Water baptism is an essential part of New Testament salvation, which is typified by Jesus' death, burial and resurrection. "Repent (death to sin), and be baptized (burial) everyone of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost (resurrection)" (Acts 2:38).[240]

Thus baptism for Oneness Pentecostals is a sacrament in the strongest sense of the term - it is a means of grace. For most trinitarians it is purely an ordinance - a command to be obeyed. The three-stage and two-stage Pentecostals generally subscribe to the same doctrine and practise as Seymour who wrote:

> Baptism is not a saving ordinance, but is essential because it is a command of our Lord... it is obedience to the command of Jesus, following saving faith... It should be administered by a disciple who is baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.[241]

Thus most Trinitarian Pentecostals tend towards a Zwinglian position and use the triadic formula of Matthew 28:19.[242]

For the three types of Pentecostalism currently under consideration - but not for all Pentecostals - the mode of

baptism and the nature of the candidate is the same as for the Baptists, Churches of Christ and Plymouth Brethren. "Water baptism," writes the New Testament Church of God, "is to plunge or dip, or a burial beneath the surface of the water and a lifting out again."[243] It is, writes the Apostolic Church:

> ...a sign of burial; for, unless there is total immersion there cannot be a complete symbol of such burial (Rom.6:3,4)
> Baptism is meant to portray the union of the believer with Christ in His Death and Resurrection (Col.2:20; 3:1). The person baptized is buried with Christ, because dead with Him; such person, in being raised out of the water, is represented as being risen with Christ.[244]

"All of the 'modes of baptism (sprinkling, pouring or infant baptism)," write the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, "are all the inventions of men without biblical substantiation."[245] "Baptism is only for those who have fully repented, having turned from their sins and a love of the world."[246] It is "only for believers in the Lord Jesus Christ who are of a responsible age."[247] While infants may be "blessed" or "dedicated" and this may sometimes include annointing with oil, water baptism is reserved for those who are old enough to have made a profession of faith for themselves.

Pentecostals, like other traditions which practise believer's baptism, have liturgies for infant dedication. This varies from simple prayers of thanksgiving, and for the child's welfare, to charges delivered to parents and sponsors that they shall bring him or her up in the

Christian faith. Some simply lay hands on the infant in blessing (Mark 10:16; Luke 2:21ff) while others mark the forehead with the sign of the cross in oil. White and white-influenced congregations generally do the former and black autonomous congregations, the latter.

Closely associated with the Pentecostal belief in divine healing are the practices of "laying on of hands" and "annointing of the sick with oil" which only the two-stage Elim Pentecostal Church actually define as sacraments or "ordinances".[248] However, both are practised by all three types of Pentecostal sect and used in conjunction with prayer. "The healing of the sick," writes Oneness Pentecostal Robert E Phillips, "is not to cease until Christ returns (1Cor.12:9; 3:10)," and includes various methods:

1. Annointing with oil by elders of local churches (James 5:14-15)
2. Laying on of hands accompanying the preaching of the Gospel (Mark 16-18)
3. Prayer-Cloth Ministry (Acts 19:11-12)
4. The Spoken Word (Matt 8:8)[249]

The use of prayer-cloths - usually handkerchiefs - is less common than the other practices which however are based on equally isolated references in the Bible. The practice of laying hands on the sick is predicated on the so called **Canonical Ending** of Mark's Gospel (16:9-20) which, although it is ommitted from both **Sinaiticus** and **Vaticanus**, probably dates from the middle of the Second Century. Like snake handling - which is practised by a few North American

Pentecostals [250] – it is, as R Alan Cole states, "unwise to build any theological position upon these verses alone" [251].

There are of course many biblical records of healing including those brought about by the laying on of hands in the ministry of Jesus (Mark 6:5; 7:32,33; Luke 4:40; 13:13) and of Paul (Acts 28:8 see also 14:3). This subject will receive further consideration in chapter seven.

The practice of annointing the sick is based on James 5:14,15 with passing reference to Mark 6:13, and ignoring Luke 10:34 which Pentecostals generally interpret as symbolic of the Holy Spirit.[252] Most black Oneness Pentecostals and some three-stage Pentecostals also annoint infants during a service of dedication and thanksgiving for childbirth.

c. APOSTOLIC AND YAHWISTIC PENTECOSTALISM

There are also two other Pentecostal congregations in Wolverhampton which, though they conform to the common elements of Pentecostalism outlined above, and share some degree of identity with both two-stage and three-stage Pentecostalism, are nevertheless different enough to require some further elucidation. Both are predominantly white organisations with significant numbers of black members and leaders.[253]

The Apostolic Church has some 4,900 members in Britain gathered in 165 congregations.[254] The congregation ...

Wolverhampton has an average attendance of about 20 with twelve black (Afro-Caribbean) adherents, two Asians and six whites; eleven women and nine men. The Afro-Caribbean members joined the congregation in the 1950s and all the first generation are from the Parish of Westmorland where they had attended the same Baptist church.[235] Leadership is multi-racial with a Scottish pastor and one elder each from Jamaica and India.

The services I visited were typical of the relatively staid white Pentecostal style rendered slightly more lively by the Afro-Caribbeans present who imposed some of their rhythms on the music and uttered the occasional verbal ejaculation during prayer which was individual rather than corporate. The speaker on one occasion was the Afro-Caribbean elder who preached in a very 'white' style from extensive notes. The pastor, who had only been in Wolverhampton for six months when I first interviewed him, expressed his concern that:

> the West Indians that come to us, to some degree they've lost their West Indianess. I feel almost that they're sort of conforming to us... When they pray, that's about one time, I would say, in the context of our worship that they manifest any sort of essentially West Indian [liturgical style]...: shout, almost verging on a scream at times and [they] clap their hands... that's the closest they ever come to manifesting any sort of West Indianness... I think its unfortunate,because I would like to see them, to some degree become more natural...
>
> Obviously I don't think they [a white Pentecostal congregation] would be happy with what we would consider, from a Western viewpoint [to be] excess

> [but] I would like to see them being more free and that little bit more West Indian and I think to that degree we would accept it [ie black liturgical style].[256]

The Apostolic Church organisation to which this congregation belongs, is in many ways doctrinally similar to the British Assemblies of God, however, they inhabit a kind of middle ground between two-stage and three-stage Pentecostalism. They teach that:

> the definite instantaneous act of Sanctification... Complete deliverance (Rom.6:14) from the power of sin and freedom to live holily and righteously... is the privilege [which Christ gives] to every Christian from the time of conversion."[257]

However, many "have failed to realise" that justification and sanctification are simultaneously available "through the Finished Work of Christ," and have consequently "entered upon this life of victory as a distinct experience sometime after conversion."[258] Whether received at the time of justification or subsequently, sanctification is described as:

> that definite instantaneous act of cleansing from all known sin whereby he is no longer the servant of sin, but is holy through the life of God within. The believer is thus separated and dedicated unto the doing of the Will of God, who takes possession of the temple given to Him,namely, the believer in his spirit, soul and body.[259]

In addition to this "instantaneous act of Sanctification", the Apostolic Church also teaches that a "gradual process of Sanctification" is necessary. Because no believer, even the sanctified one, "is immune from sin (1John 1:8)" he must "press on to perfection - to perfect his holiness (II Cor.7:1)."[260]

Another way in which the Apostolic Church differs significantly from other British Pentecostal organisations, is with regard to its form of church government which is administered by Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers, Elders and Deacons.[261] In particular, they believe that:

> Apostleship in the New Testament is not limited to the original twelve companions of Christ . For it became a foundational office in the church. The Headship of the glorified Christ must find expression among the members of His Body, the Apostleship expresses this headship in authority, dignity and humility... Authority is the right to govern, which government inevitably liberates the good and binds the evil.[262]

The Apostolics maintain that their apostles have the authority to:

> War against every Satanic force... found and establish churches after the New Testament Pattern... Take the general oversight of the Churches... ordain Elders... Excommunicate... and... restore.[263]

Their apostles lay hands on individuals in ordination or that people might receive Spirit baptism and be endowed with spiritual gifts.[264] "In the Apostolic Office," they claim, "there is also deposited authority over Demons... and... a ministry of miracles and healing power should be manifest."[265]

Similarly, the office of the prophet is recognised as:

> the channel through which the revelation of the Divine purpose is made known to the Church...[and] will always be in perfect accord with the tenor and spirit of the Written Word. The Prophet speaks as moved by the Holy Ghost, which movement is other than the merely natural impulse of his own spirit, or

> conception of his own mind. For in prophecy God lays hold of the channel's faculties, and Himself speaks through His servant's mouth."[266]

According to the Apostolic Church, the prophet is used to reveal to church members what God has called them to do; to foretell future events; to impart spiritual gifts to others; to guide missionaries in where they should serve God; to warn, exhort, encourage, rebuke and teach believers.[267]

From 1907 some degree of disunity was developing among Pentecostals in Britain over the issue of whether or not the "gifts of the Ascended Lord to His Church" (Eph 4:11) were also being restored.[268] While all Pentecostals accepted the nine **charismata pneumatica** of 1 Corinthians, which included the gift of prophecy, many believed that,

> the prophetic utterance was [only] for exhortation, edification and comfort (1 Corinthians 14:3), but they did not believe that the prophetic office was for the guidance of the Church.[269]

On the other side of the debate were those who asserted that God was restoring the Church "to its former glory" by granting the five gifts of Ephesians 4:11 - including apostles and prophets. The former "were named and set apart publicly for this office" and with the prophets were considered to be "the Scriptural order of Church Government."[270]

In 1907-1908, Daniel Powell Williams, a miner and convert of the Welsh Revival, was given a "prophetic word"

regarding his future and became pastor of the Pentecostals at Penygroes. Thomas Napier Turnbull, the Apostolic Church's historian, writes that:

> The Lord later called Pastor D P Williams to be an apostle, and his brother Pastor W J Williams, to be a prophet, and through their ministry the Apostolic Church was commenced at Penygroes.[271]

The name Apostolic Church was adopted in 1916 when the Welsh group split away from the Apostolic Faith Church in Bournemouth, and the following year "the Word of the Lord came" through a prophet:

> I will bring unto this Mount men from afar. Faces that are strange shall appear in the midst. I shall ordain Shepherds in this mount that shall go forth to other lands, and even the dark of skin shall come here.[272]

In 1919 a group in Glasgow united with the Apostolic Church at Penygroes, followed by groups in Hereford (1920) and Bradford (1922).[273] Turnbull states that:

> in 1920 there were approximately forty or fifty Churches [I suspect that some of these were very small], in 1959 about one thousand eight hundred Churches in over twenty countries in the world.[274]

At this time they were able to boast of some eighty thousand members and six hundred and fifty full time ministers and missionaries.[275] By 1982 the Apostolic Church was represented in 33 countries and had more than five and a half thousand congregations world wide.[276]

The second Pentecostal congregation in Wolverhampton which fails to comply with either the two-stage or three-stage models is the Congregation of Yahweh. The Wolverhampton branch of this sect began in 1972 and has six white members

and four black, one of whom is the female pastor. When I visited their services on Saturday evenings there were nine whites - six women and three men - three West Indians (two women and one man) and one Asian woman in attendance. Most of them were poorly educated and from near the bottom of the socio-economic pile.277

Their two-hour services were characterised by very loud singing and the participation of all the nuclear members in delivering short sermons or exhortations. The subjects of these homilies ranging from the folly of riches to the curse of poverty, and from angelic protection to the necessity of sanctification:

> I want to live an overcoming life. I want to overcome all the fiery darts of the evil one...so that I can sit down in His throne with Yashua.278

The outside world is often spoken of as hostile and dangerous: "the world is full of tribulation and problems and its getting worse."279

Relationships with other white and black Pentecostal congregations are very limited but they have regular fellowship with one of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion congregations, occasionally attend other black Pentecostal "programmes" and are involved with the Wolverhampton Inter-faith Group.280

The movement has its origins in 1960 when Peter R Warsop (referred to by his followers as "Dad" or the "Apostle")

applied for and was granted the pastorate of a multi-racial group of fourteen people meeting in a rented hall in Nottingham. He and five others commuted from Loughborough where they "had been meeting and working together with a small, humble and determined group of brethren." The congregation at Nottingham which called itself "The Church of God" - a name which attracted Christians from the Caribbean 281 - was composed both of indigenous whites and Afro-Caribbeans from Jamaica, St Kitts and Trinidad. The following year Warsop and his family rented a house and moved to Nottingham.

During the subsequent three or four years there were doctrinal disputes and many people came and went. In 1968 they purchased a large house for the use of three unmarried and three divorced women and their children, and two years later, faced with the demolition of their rented building, the congregation extended this house by erecting a large "meeting room".282 Under Warsop's leadership they progressively changed from a fairly orthodox classical Pentecostal congregation to a legalistic, sabbatarian, communitarian, quasi-Hebraic organisation. They stopped using the name Church of God and called themselves the Congregation of Yahweh. They also adopted communitarian living and purchased four other "Covenant Houses" in Nottingham, and four in other parts of the country: Blythe in Northumberland in 1970, Aylesbury in 1971 and Wolverhampton and Bedford in 1972. One, opened in Sandbach

in 1973, was subsequently sold in 1977, as was a house in Cornwall. A more conventional church building, designated simply as "Free Church", is used in Chelmsford.

> Each house is self-supporting financially, after being equipped and financed by the Administration Centre at Nottingham. Some of the members go to work, whilst others stay home and do the many duties involved in running a home.283

Some indication of what life is like in the communitarian Covenant Houses is given by Warsop's wife (usually called "Mummy Joyce"):

> Daily routine was the important start to a community life never before experienced. Wake up early (no problem!), wash, brush teeth, dress. Three meals a day, at a set time. Balanced diet with rather less sweets, crisps and biscuits; more grains, and vegetables - not so many chips! Taking other people into consideration. Bathing every night and mothering time afterwards! After a while the sound of a bell at intervals throughout the day became the accepted part of life, and could readily be interpreted as a reminder to turn up for things like meals, drinks and biscuits, prayer time, trips out, games, house meetings and so on... The 'office talks' and disciplining side were not always so readily appreciated but just as needful and played their part in the regular routine of things.284

For those who can endure the pressure to conform, rigid routine, authoritarian discipline, lack of privacy and sheer hard work, the Congregation of Yahweh provides a sheltered, structured and loving environment. Not surprisingly, it has attracted many people from broken homes and those who suffered from feelings of alienation,insecurity and powerlessness. They are adopted into an extended quasi-family structure complete with "daddies", "mummies", "aunties", "uncles", "brothers" and "sisters". Those unable or unwilling to take decisions for

themselves will have them made for them, and those who are unable to cope with their finances or relationships are either freed from such responsibilities or are taught to cope.

In 1965, Warsop had set up a "Ministers Training Home" which in 1966 became "The International Training Home for Ministers" and in 1974, "Covenant College".[285] In 1980 he wrote that approximately 200 people had been trained, of whom sixty were still at the college and sixty-six involved in full-time ministry.[286]

During the early years of the sect, "hygiene classes" were run for girls and woodwork and engineering classes for boys.[287] From these small beginnings a variety of training schemes and departments have been developed. A very sophisticated and professional graphics, photography and printing operation produces over 24,00 pieces of literature each year, and an audio tape department issues 4,000 tapes per year. They also operate three 'Bible Book Shops'; motor vehicle workshops which maintain the sect's fleet of thirty-eight vehicles, and carpentry, building and renovation departments.[288]

Today the congregation of Yahweh have about 300 members in Britain (about half of whom live in the communitarian "Covenant Houses"); a small "ministerial college" and three congregations on the island of Jamaica, and links with

Yahwistic groups in the United States, Norway, Denmark, Holland and South Africa.[289]

The Congregation of Yahweh have digressed considerably from British Pentecostal orthodoxy. Joyce Warsop writes:

> We have moved as a people, in the light of our purified doctrine. Now we keep the Sabbath [290] (Saturday) and call our Father and His son by their true and Holy Names of Yahweh and Yashua.[291]
> We also have forsaken many pagan christian rituals,[292] in favour of divine order. This causes us to keep the three major feasts of Passover and Unleavened Bread, First Fruits and Tabernacles.[293]

Another of their writers, Asmund Knutson, declares:

> I would say that His name (HA'SHEM) has been concealed a long time. WHY? Why was it so tremendously important for satan to get into the centre of the holy nation and remove the Name of YAHWEH? Why was it so important to instruct them not to mention that Name? To substitute titles and idols' names in its stead?
> I ask you brother, why is it that religious people seem to go of their hinges when you start keeping the sabbaths of YAHWEH? Why can we, unhindered, keep the pagan days in our worship, but meet antagonism and aggressive defiance once we turn to the worship YAHWEH bade us? Why do people detest you when you stop eating non kosher food?
> It is because those principalities and powers get busy stamping down that which they fear most, the reconstruction of a holy priesthood, of the network of YAHWEH's Spiritual power?...
> There **is power** in the Name, in those sabbaths kept in their true seasons, in that kusher life, that non yielding righteousness and dedication. That is the purpose why **we are** called into this Body of YASHUA. We are His BODY; His hands, feet, eyes, mouth, heart on earth. We ate of YASHUA, and entered the Covenant. We died from ourselves and were immersed into YASHUA. We are His and not our own. For it is true: **"We do no longer live ourselves. But YASHUA is the One that is living in us."**... For you are the channel through which the power of YAHWEH shall flow. Your part and mine is to say: "YES!" And in faith to set ourselves to the task of building up THE ONLY PRIESTHOOD THERE IS IN THE WORLD THAT IS WILLING TO CALL UPON THE NAME OF YAHWEH AND TO SERVE HIM ACCORDING TO THE REVELATION HE HAS GIVEN US IN HIS

The Congregation of Yahweh claim to reject both Pentecostal modalism and metaphysical speculations regarding the Trinity. Knutson writes:

> I do not preach the trinitarian doctrine, for the word "trinity" is not in my Bible, and I find it completely superfluous and man-made, but this I preach: Yashua is the Presence of Yahweh amongst men, always has been, and always will be.[295]

The use of the words 'God' and 'Jesus' are rejected on the basis of the former being the proper name of a Teutonic diety and the latter a Greek corruption of the Hebrew name 'Yashua'.

The sect use and promote a North American version of the Scriptures called "The Holy Name Bible". While following closely the 17th Century English of the King James Version, the Holy Name Bible replaces the words God, Lord, Christ, Jesus etc. with what the sect believe to be the original Hebrew names and titles of God and of Christ. The preface to this volume declares:

> Another common error among most of the translators is their elimination of heaven's revealed Name of the Most High, "Yahweh", and the Name of His Son, "Yashua" the Messiah, and substituting the names of the local deities of the nations among whom they dwelt, expressly transgressing Yahweh s commandments...
> For "Yahweh" they have substituted "Baal", the Babylonian deity, and "Adunai", the Canaanitish deity of the Phoenicians, both corresponding to the English word "Lord".
> The characteristic appellation of the Most High, Elohim, has been substituted by the Assyrian deity "Gawd", or "God" in English...
> The name of the son, Yahshua, has been substituted by "Jesus", and Ea-zeus (Healing Zeus)... by employing these names the people unknowingly turn the worship

> of Yahweh into that of idols and actually ascribe the benevolent characteristics of the Mighty One of Israel to the pagan deities.[296]

In this version, chapter and verse numberings are sometimes changed and a few novel ideas are propounded. For example, in Genesis chapter 2, verses 21 and 22 are renumbered as 18 and 19, and the text is made to read:

> And Yahweh Elohim caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept: and He took the womb and closed up the flesh instead thereof;
> and the womb which Yahweh Elohim had taken from man, made He a woman (Womb-man), and brought her unto the man.[297]

While the Congregation of Yahweh share the generic ideal type of other Pentecostal organisations in Britain, in many other ways they have digressed from either the two stage or three stage models. In common with the Apostolic Church, the Congregation of Yahweh believe in the "five fold ministry" of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers. Warsop writes that,

> ...this order has been laid out in the New Covenant, and is in a group of people over whom the Messiah is Head, ruling through an Apostolic ministry, revealing a vision through a prophetic ministry, uniting them by a pastoral ministry, teaching them through a teaching ministry, increasing them through an evangelistic ministry, and taking care of them at a local level through Elders and Deacons; and there we have a brief outline of Yahweh's order when it's working properly.[298]

They have a somewhat ambivalent view of sanctification, which although understood by some as a process, may also involve an experience.[299] Perfection in this life is one of their primary goals as they believe that "the smallest sin must be accounted for." And "if you and I have sin in

our lives and we are holding on to it, Yahweh has declared war against us... if there is any defilement in my heart, in your heart, we are not going there [the New Jerusalem]".300 The eradication of indwelling sin must be obtained before the individual dies or Christ returns:

> Yahweh's order is filled with righteousness. He is literally going to take away your sin and mine. Every sin that we have committed, and the root that is in that inheritance that comes from Adam. From that root grew all the plants that we called sins. He is going to take that root out, clear all the seeds away, and establish holiness in Zion. Yahweh wants our lives holy, inside and outside; our heart, our mind, our conversation, and our bodies - He means us to be holy... I plead with every one of you to stop fooling, to get down to business, to go down on your knees and stay there until the heavens open and your sin is purged, otherwise you will have neither part nor lot with Zion.301

Warsop claims that, for him, the eradication of indwelling sin has taken place:

> He has taken the root of sin out of my life. I have no more problems with sin or temptation, he took out the root of sin by the blood of Yashua. ("...the blood of the covenant by which he was sanctified..." Hebrews 10:29 NASB) And many other people have had the sin removed and are living a life of continuous victory, continuous peace.302

The Congregation of Yahweh are sabbatarian, reject all of the festivals on the Christian calendar and keep the Hebrew Feasts of Tabernacles, Passover, First Fruits, Atonement and Trumpets.303 Communion Services are only held on the Feast of the Passover, when a lamb is bought from a kosher butcher and eaten to remember that "Yashua is our passover", and at occasional "Covenant Services" when members make a promise "like the one made a Sinai to obey the Heavenly Father."304 They are also strongly

The Levitical food laws are strictly adhered to.306 Women cover their heads when worshipping and generally have long hair which is piled up in a sort of regulation style.307 They do not wear make-up or jewellery with the exception of wedding and engagement rings and occasionally simple pendants - many with the star of David. Womens dress is up to the neck, below the knees and down to the wrists, even when washing up! Most of the men have full beards.

The sect has an Armenian soteriology 308, though they claim to believe in salvation by faith alone:

> Yahweh does not want our religious works or sacrifices. They will not pay for our salvation because he has already paid the full price with His own blood 309

However rejection of revealed truth concerning the distinctive doctrines of the sect could endanger a persons salvation,310 and sanctification is understood as an essential pre-requisite for "ultimate salvation."311 The baptism by immersion of adults is believed to wash away sins and is administered in the name of Yashua while the candidate calls out, "Yahweh".312

The Apostolic church and the Congregation of Yahweh share the idea of "theocratic" government by Apostles and Prophets and a dualistic view of sanctification as both an instantaneous experience and an ongoing process.

p.SUMMARY OF PENTECOSTAL TYPES

Common Distinctive Elements in Pentecostalism

1. Experiential emphasis
2. Fundamentalist biblicism
3. Anti-intellectualism/pneumatic hermeneutic
4. A-historical restorationism
5. Spirit baptism evidenced by glossolalia
6. Adventism and millinarianism
7. Charismata pneumatica/integration of the unconscious
8. Healing and deliverance with laying on of hands and annointing
9. Believers baptism
10 Ethical rigorism and taboos

Distinctive doctrines and practises in:

Three-stage Pentecostalism

Three crises: Justification, Sanctification Spirit baptism.
Simplistic Trinitarianism.
The ordinance of water baptism using the triadic formula.

Two-stage Pentecostalism

Two crises: Justification and Spirit baptism.
Simplistic Trinitarianism.
The ordinance of water baptism using the triadic formula.

Oneness Pentecostalism

Regeneration comprises, repentance, water baptism and Spirit baptism.
"Oneness" modalism.
The sacrament of water baptism using the simple formula.

Apostolic Pentecostalism

Government by Apostles and Prophets
Sanctification understood as both an event and a process.

Yahwistic Pentecostalism

Government by Apostles and Prophets
Sanctification understood as both an event and a process.
Rejection of the Christian calendar and observance of Jewish festivals.
Rejection of names 'God and Jesus' and use of names 'Yahweh' and 'Yashua'.
Sabbatarian.

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21.Cone, James H, **Black Theology and Black Power**, New York: Seabury Press, 1969, p 69.

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93. Gee, Donald, **The Pentecostal Movement**, London: Elim Publishing Co, 1949.

94. **The Apostolic Faith**,Vol I, No.2, October 1906, p 3, col 3; Vol I, No.5, January 1907, p 2 col 1,2; Vol I, No 10, September 1907, p 4, col 4 etc.

95. Ibid, Vol I, no.2, October 1906, p.3,col4.

96. Bartleman, **Azuza Street**, p 119; see also pp 135,153.

97. Gee, **The Pentecostal Movement**, p 2.

98. Turnbull, p.15

99. **The Promise of His Coming**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Whitewing Publishing House and Press(COGOP), nd, p 3

100. Warsop, P R, in **Hashem**, No.7, nd, p3.

101. Ibid, No.12, nd, p 3; see also Biddle, A A, 'Elim's Roll in the Last Days' in **Elim Evangel**, 25th January, 1975.

102. Smyth,John C 'The Signs of the Times' in Brewster, p 389.

103. See for example MacPherson, Dave, **The Incredible Cover-Up**, Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos International, 1975, pp 6-4 et passim and Lewis, I Wynne, 'The Rapture of the Church' in Brewster, pp 266-271.

104. Menzies, p 64.

105. Hitchcock, George S, **The Beast and the Little Horn**, London: Catholic Truth Society, 1911, p 7.

106. See MacPherson, passim.

107. MacPherson, p 93 et passim.

108. Mixon, Roy D, **The First Twenty Years of the Church of God of Prophecy in England**, London: 27 Drewstead Road, 1973, pp 10,11.

109. See for example Lewis op cit, pp 259-271; Stone, James, **An Introduction to Basic Theology**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Whitewing Publishing House and Press, 1983, pp 115-118; Tomlinson, **Basic Bible Beliefs**, pp 74-78. cf Pentecostal Historicist Views in, for example, Taylor, E G, **Welcome Back to Earth Jesus**, Belfast: The Standard of Truth Publications, nd; Campbell, David, **Signs Are For Strangers**, Durham: Torchlight Publications, 1979; Graham, James G, **Understand Revelation**, Belfast: The Churches of God, 1966.

110. Tomlinson, A J, **Sanctification A Peculiar Treasure: Setting Forth the Glorious Teaching of the Second Work of Grace**, Cleveland, Tennessee: The Church of God of Prophecy, nd p 2.

111. See Anderson, Robert Mapes, **A Social History of the Early Twentieth Century Pentecostal Movement**, Columbia University, PhD Thesis, 1969, Reproduced by University Microfilms, High Wycombe, 1972, pp 149-151, 154, 156, 157.

112.Horton, **Gifts of the Spirit**, P 13.
113.Ibid pp 31,32. See also Hughes, pp 47,48.

114.Turnbull, pp15,16.
The Apostolic Church, for example, lay great stress on the "five fold ministry in Ephesians 4:11,12.

115.Stone, **History and Polity**, p 241.

116.Mixon, p 10.

117.Gee, **Gifts**, p 63.

118.White, p 11. See also Forsythe, p33.

119.Jones, p 60.

120.Horton, p 149.

121.Jones, p 58.

122.Ibid, pp 53,54.

123.Horton, pp 77-79. See also an interesting chapter by Canty, George, 'Demons and Casting Out Demons' in Brewster, pp 241-257. cf Osborne, T L, **Healing From Christ**, Tulsa, Oklahoma: Osborne Foundation, 1955 passim. cf Johnson, Walter C, 'Demon Possession and Mental Illness' in **Journal of the American Scientific Association**, Vol 34, No 3, September 1982, pp 149-154. Johnson is a psychiatrist who believes that demon possession can occur as something quite distinct from what is normally termed mental illness.

124.Conn, Charles W, **Where the Saints Have Trod: A History of Church of God Mission**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Pathway

Press,1957, p 61fn.

125.Parham, **Voice**, pp 40,41.

126.Ibid pp 46-52

127.**The Apostolic Faith**, Vol 1, No4, December 1906, p 2, col 1.

128.Ibid.

129.Ibid, Vol 1, No 11, October to January 1908, p 2, col 1.

130.Ibid, col 2.

131.Tomlinson, M A, **Basic Bible Beliefs of the Church of God of Prophecy**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Whitewing Publishing House and Press, 1961, pp 49-52.

132.Ibid, pp52,53.

133.Horton, p 101.

134.Forsythe, James J, **Divine Healing is for Today**, Belfast: The Standard of Truth Publications, nd, p 52.

135.Tee, Alexander B, 'The Doctrine of Divine Healing' in Brewster, p 198.

136.Osborne, passim; Phillips, Robert E, How You Can Be Healed!' in **Pentecostal Truth: Divine Healing**, Wolverhampton: United Pentecostal Church, nd (1978). cf Tee, pp 206,209.

137.Brandyberry, J, 'The Promise of Healing' in **Pentecostal Truth: Divine Healing**. See also Forsythe **Healing**, p 53, Forsythe, **Gifts**, p 21. and Tee, p 198.

138.Gee, **Gifts**, pp 45,46.

139.Horton, p 45.

140.Ibid, pp 61,62.

141.Ibid, pp 73,74.

142.Ibid, pp 134,135

143.Ibid, p 149.

144.Ibid, pp 159,160. cf Tappeiner, Daniel A, 'A Psychological Paradigm for the Interpretation of the Charismatic Phenomenon of Prophecy' in **Journal of Psychology and Theology**, Vol 5, No 1, 1977, pp 23-33;

Matheson, George, 'Hypnotic Aspects of Religious Experiences' in Ibid, vol 7, No 1, 1979, pp 13-21.

145.See Rhine, J B and Brier, R (Eds), **Parapsychology Today**, New York: Citadel Press, 1968 and cf Hansel, C E M, **ESP: A Scientific Evaluation**, New York: Scribners, 1966.

146.Hollenweger, **Pentecostals**, pp 24,25,71. cf Hughes, p 35.

147.**The Apostolic Faith**, Vol 1, No 1,September 1906, p 2, col 1. See also Tomlinson, A J, **Sanctification A Second Work of Grace**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Whitewing Publishing House and Press, nd, p 16.

148.Stone, **History and Polity**, p 238.

149.Ibid, p 235.

150.Tomlinson, A J, **Sanctification A Second Work of Grace**, pp 2,4. See also Tomlinson, A J, **Santification A Peculiar Treasure**, passim.

151.Tomlinson, M A, **Beliefs**, p 12.

152.Stone, **History and Polity**, 235.

153.Anderson, pp 180-181; Hollenweger **Pentecostals**, p 24.

154.Durham, W H,in **The Pentecostal Testimony**, June, 1911, also quoted in Brumback, Carl, **Suddenly From Heaven**, Springfield: Gospel Publishing House, 1977, p 99 and in Hollenweger, **Pentecostals**, p 24.

155.Anderson, p 281 These Pentecostals taught a soteriology with only two stages: conversion and Spirit baptism.

156.Anderson, pp 284,287.

157.Brierley, Peter (ed), **UK Christian Handbook 1985/86 Edition**, London: MARC Europe, 1984, p 116. Two stage Pentecostalism comprises about 54% of all classical Pentecostals in Britain.

158.See for example **Discipline Book** (CooLJCA), pp 47,48; Reeves, Kenneth V, **The Holy Ghost with Tongues**, Granite City, Illinois: The author, 1966, pp 40,41; Foster, Fred J, **Think It Not Strange: A History of the Oneness Movement**, St Louis, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965, pp 41-43; Reynolds, Ralph Vincent, **Truth Shall Triumph: A Study of Pentecostal Doctrines**, St Louis, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965, pp 59-67.

159.Parham, **Voice**, pp21-24; see also Parham, **Life**,

pp1-9,14,23-25,451. cf **Discipline** Book, (CooLJCA), pp 27,28.

160.Brumback, pp 191,192; Christian **Evangel**, 6th September 1919, pp 6,7; **Latter Day Evangel**, May 1915, pp 2-9; **Word and Witness**, June 1915, pp 2,3 cited in Anderson, p296, n2.

161.Ewart, Frank J, **The Phenomenon of Pentecost**, St Louis, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1947, p 76. See also pp50, 51, 57; Foster, Fred J, **Think It Not Strange**, St Louis, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965, pp 51,52; Clanton, Arthur L, **United We Stand: A History of Oneness Organisations**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1970, pp 13-15.

162.Morse,Harry in **Apostolic Herald**, December 1943, p 9, quoted in Clanton, p 16.

163.Manuwal, Louis, **Water Baptism According to the Bible and Historical References**, Hazelwood, Missouri: End-time Ministries, nd, p 5. See also **Discipline Book**, pp 21-31.

164.Fauss, Oliver F, **Baptism in God's Plan: What the Scriptures Teach About Baptism in the "Name" of Jesus**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1955, p 14; Fauss, Oliver F **Buy the Truth, And Sell It Not: The History of the Revelation of Baptism in the Name of Jesus, And the Fullness of God in Christ**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965, p 65. Other verses cited by Fauss include Matt 6:9 and Matt 1:21 with Isaiah 7:14. See also Patterson, John, **The Real Truth About Baptism in Jesus' Name**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1953, pp12-22; Connolly, J A, **Water Baptism Obligatory or Optional?**, Belfast: The Standard of Truth Publications, nd, p 42; Hall, William Phillips, **Remarkable Bible Discovery or "The Name" of God According to the Scriptures**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1951. See also **Discipline Book**, pp 26,29-31.

165.Fauss, **Truth**, p 65.

166.Patterson, **Baptism** pp 15,17. Other verses cited by Patterson include John 16:14,15 RV; Col.1:27; 2 Cor 3:17.

167.Reynolds, Ralph Vincent **Bible Doctrine: International Alpha Bible Course**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Overseas Ministries (UPC), nd, p 10.

168. Augustin taught that the three 'Persons' possess the entire essence of God . They are not like human person who share a common human nature, but are totally interdependent. One of the 'Persons' of the Trinity is never and can never be without the others. All three interdwell each other and the differences between the three

'Persons' stem from the fact that the Father generates, the Son is generated and the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (philioque .

169. Ferguson, Paul, **God in Christ Jesus**, Elgin, Illinois: Real Truth Publication, 1963, p 10.

170. Clanton, pp 142,143.

171. **The 1981 Minute Book of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World Inc**, PAOW, 1981, p 18. An example of a Oneness treatise by a black Jamaican living in England is Dunn, Sydney A, **Jehovah God in the Old Testament is Jesus Christ in the New Testament**, Birmingham: Bethel United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic), nd. A more scholarly Oneness apologetic is Patterson, John **God in Christ Jesus**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Word Aflame Press, 1966. See also Magee, Gordon, **Is Jesus in the Godhead or is the Godhead in Jesus**, Pasadena, Texas: The author, nd; Campbell, David, **All the Fullness**, St Louis, Missouri: Word Aflame Press, 1975; Tony, **Who Art Thou Lord**, Transvaal, South Africa: The author,nd; Reynolds, **Truth**, pp 86-94; Reynolds, **Doctrine**, Part One; Fauss, **Truth** Chapters II, V, IX-XII; Heron, S S 'What's Wrong With Jesus Only in the Godhead?' in **The Standard of Truth**, Vol 28, Nos 5 and 6, September/October and November/December, 1972

172. **Discipline Book**, Harlem, New York: Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith, Inc., 1975, pp14,15. See also pp 16-20. Some of the more thoughtful forms of the Pentecostal Oneness Doctrine are almost Kantian in their affirmation that God in himself is unknowable but a limited understanding is available through his manifestation as Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

173. **What We Believe and Teach: Articles of Faith of the United Pentecostal Church**, St Louis, Missouri, nd, p 7.

174. **The Holy Bible**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Word Aflame Press, 1973, p 9.

175. **Minute** Book,(PAoW), p 17. See also p 21.

176. Ibid, p 21.

177. Interview with Powell, H U.

178. **Minute Book**, (PAoW), p 23.

179. Sung by the Church of God Fellowship, Wolverhampton.

180. Interview B4.

181. Powell, David 'The Doctrine of Holiness' in Brewster, pp 368,369. See also Hughes, pp 124-135.

182. Supplement to the Minutes of the 58th General Assembly of the Church of God, Cleveland, Tennessee, 1980, p 7 items 22 and 23; These Necessary Things: The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of God of Prophecy as Set Forth by the General Assembly, 11th Edition, Cleveland, Tennessee: Whitewing Publishing House, 1985 p 52; Stone, History and Polity, pp 251,252; Hughes, pp 131-133.

183. Necessary Things (CoGoP), p 53. See also Supplement to the Minutes (CoG), p 7, item 31; What We Believe and Teach, (UPC) pp 10,15.

184. Necessary Things (CoGoP), p 56.

185. Ibid.

186. Minute Book (PAOW), p 24.

187. Supplement to the Minutes, (COG), p 7, item 27.

188. Ibid, item 29.

189. Necessary Things (CoGoP), pp 17,53.

190. Supplement to the Minutes, (COG), p 7, item 26.

191. Necessary Things, (CoGoP), p 54. See also Articles of Faith (UPC), p 10.

192. Necessary Things, (CoGoP), ibid.

193. Supplement to the Minutes (COG), p 7, item 30.

194. Articles of Faith (UPC), p 10.

195. Necessary Things, (CoGoP), p 56.

196. Minute Book, (PAOW), p 16; Articles of Faith, (UPC), p 13; Necessary Things (CoGoP), pp 50,51.

197. Interview 822.

198. Fundamentals of the Apostolic Church, Bradford, Yorkshire: The Puritan Press, nd, pp 29,30. See also Church of God of Prophecy Business Guide, Cleveland, Tennessee, Whitewing Publishing House and Press, 1987, pp 104-106. This is an updated version of These Necessary Things op cit.; Elim Evangel, No.XXXIV, 1953, pp 99,122.

199. Fundamentals, (AC), ibid.

200. Ibid, p 30.

201. Bible Truths, (UPC), p 26; Business Guide (COGOP), pp

104,105.

202.**Bible Truths**, (UPC).

203.Ibid.

204.Ibid.

205.Hammond, E D 'The Destiny of the Fellowship' in **Riches of Grace**, Vol 6, No 4, April 1982, p 56. For a Pentecostal critique of prophecying in the first person see Horton, pp 173,174.

206.Campbell, David, 'Tithing - Is It Scriptural?' in **Pentecostal Truth** Vol1, No 1, November 1972,Elgin, Morayshire: United Pentecostal Church, p 7. cf Hughes, pp 85,86. Hughes quotes a decision of the Church of God, taken in 1911, that "the church is not to enforce tithing on the members..."

207.The New Testament Church of God, in theory if not always in practice, adopt a less hard line approach to tithing which should be practised by members "because of the love they have for God and His Church, and not because they are compelled to." **Supplement to the Minutes** (COG), pp 11,12.

208.Sung by The Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Apostolic), Springfield, 22nd May, 1983.

209.**Business Guide**, (COGOP), p 96, See also Campbell, **Tithing**, pp 7,8 and **Discipline Book** (CooLJCA), pp 41,42.

210.Gillum, Perry and Allen, Rob, **Issues: A Biblical Perspective on Current Social Themes** Cleveland, Tennessee, Whitewing Publishing House and Press, 1984.

211.Ibid, p 37. Fruitt also notes "It has been reported that high level noise - such as that frequently found in music - causes homosexuality in mice and deafness among pigs (reflections on the News, June, 1981)". One wonders if Pruitt has considered the ramifications of this for the loud music of Pentecostals'

212.**Minute Book**, (PAOW), p 24.

213.Ibid, p 19; **Necessary Things**, (COGOP), pp 23-25. See also **Supplement to the Minutes** (COG), p10; **Articles of Faith** (UPC), p 13; Tomlinson, **Basic Bible Beliefs**, pp 125-128. cf Seymour's strident teaching on divorce and remarriage in **the Apostolic Faith**, Vol 1, No 10, p 3, Cols 1 and 2, and the view of the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith in **Discipline Book**, pp 43-46.

214.**Minute Book** (PAOW),p19.

215. Ibid p 20.

216. **The Apostolic Faith**, Vol 1, No.10, p 2, col 2.

217. Stone **History and Polity**, p 242.

218. See also Seymour's teaching on the Lord's Supper in **The Apostolic Faith**, Vol 1, No 10, p 2, col 3.

The Church of God (Cleveland) refer to water baptism, the Lord's Supper and feet washing as ordinances of the Church. **Supplement to the Minutes** (COG), p 9. Similarly the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith insist that communion is an ordinance but not feet washing. **Discipline Book** (CooLJCA),pp36,41.

219. A few black pastors in Britain hold a very high view of communion verging on transubstantiation.

220. United Church of God, Wolverhampton, February 1983.

221. **Fundamentals** (AC), pp 21,22.

222. **Business Guide** (COGOP), p 28.

223. **Minute Book** (PAOW), p 15; **Discipline Book** (CooLJCA) p 36. See also **Articles of Faith** (UPC), pp 8,9.

224. See **Business Guide** (COGOP), pp 27,28. See also **Supplement to the Minutes** (NTCOG), p 9.

225. **Fundamentals** (AC),p 21. See also Lancaster, J, 'The Ordinances' in Brewster, pp 79-92.

226. Stone, **History and Polity**, p 242; Hughes, pp 54-56.

227. **The Apostolic Faith**, Vol 1, No 10, p 2, col 3; Dunn, **Jehovah** (FUCOJCA), pp 36-38.

228. **Business Guide**, (COGOP), p 28; cf **Discipline Book**, (CooLJCA), p 41.

229. **Minute Book**, (PAOW), p 15.

230. Stone, **History and Polity**, p 244.

231. **Bible Truths** (UPC), p 24; **Articles of Faith** (UPC), p 9

232. Stone, **History and Polity**, p 242.

233. United Church of God, Wolverhampton, February 1983.

234. Interview B6.

235.Tomlinson, A J, **Feet Washing**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Whitewing Publishing House and Press, nd.

236.Ibid p 4.

237.Ibid p 5.

238.Sung by the United Church of God, Wolverhampton.

239.cf **Supplement to the Minutes**, (COG), pp 8,9; **Business Guide**,(COGOP), p25

240.**Bible Truths** (UPC), p 14. See also Reynolds, **Triumph**, pp 42-49.

241.**The Apostolic Faith**, Vol 1, No 10, p 2, col 3. See also Lancaster, p 85.

242.**Supplement to the Minutes**, (COG), p 9; **Business Guide**, (COGOP), p 26.

243.**Supplement to the Minutes**, (COG), p 9.

244.**Fundamentals**, (AC), p 21

245.**Minute Book**, (PAOW), p 22.

246.**Bible Truths**, (UPC), p 14.

247.**Fundamentals**, (AC), p 21.

248.Lancaster, p 80.

249.Phillips, Robert E, 'How You Can Be Healed' in **Pentecostal Truth**, 1977, pp 7,13. See also Hughes, pp 43-46.

250.See for example Alther, Lisa, 'The Snake Handlers in **New Society**, Vol 34, No 687, 4th December,1975, pp 532-535.

251.Cole, R Allen, **Tindale New Testament Commentaries: The Gospel According to St Mark**, Leicester,England/Grand Rapids, Michigan: Inter Varsity Press/Wm. B Eerdmans, 1961, p 259.

252.See Lancaster, p 91 which gives a brief exposition of James 5:14,15 but is not particularly typical as a Pentecostal practice of annointing the sick.

253.cf Gerlach and Heine, p 93.

254.Brierley, op cit, p 116.

255.Interview W 23; Visits to the Apostolic Church, Wolverhampton, 1st November, 1982 and 11th March 1984.

256. Interview W 23.

257. **Fundamentals**, (AC), pp 15,16.

258. Ibid, p 16.

259. Ibid.

260. Ibid, pp 16,17.

261. Ibid, p 24; Dawson, Hugh Noot, B J, and Turnbull, Thomas Napier, **Church Government by Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers, Elders and Deacons**, np (Apostolic Church), nd, Title Page.

262. **Fundamentals**, p 25.

263. Ibid.

264. Dawson, et al, pp 18-19.

265. Ibid, p 16.

266. **Fundamentals**, p 26.

267. Dawson, et al, pp 22-25.

268. Turnbull, p 16.

269. Ibid.

270. Ibid, pp 16,17.

271. Ibid, p 19. See also Johnson,G G 'A Centenary Celebration for Pastor Daniel Powel Williams' in **Riches of Grace**, Vol 6, No 5, May 1982, pp 68-71.

272. Quoted in Turnbull, p 21.

273. Ibid, pp 22-26

274. Turnbull, p 181.

275. Ibid.

276. **The Apostolic Church Year Book**, 1981-82, Penygroes: The Apostolic Church, pp13-43.

277. One of the former members of this congregation was a school teacher but she has now moved to the sect's headquarters congregation in Nottingham which has many well educated and middle-class adherents.

278. Congregation of Yahweh elder, a Cornish ex tin miner,

speaking at a service on Sunday 7th November, 1982.

279. Ibid

280. Interview B1. It is of interest to note that the only Pentecostal groups in Wolverhampton which will have anything to do with dialogue between members of different faiths are those which are isolated from wider fellowship with other Pentecostals, usually because of their unorthodox beliefs.

281. Many of the Pentecostal sects in the Caribbean use the name 'Church of God'. See also Thomas, Samuel E 'Resurrection of a Church , in Gerloff, Roswith (ed), **Christian Action Journal**, Autumn, 1982, p 33.

282. Warsop, M Joyce, 'Following the Cloud' in **Family Times Souvenir Edition**, Nottingham: Congregation of Yahweh, 1980, pp 2,3.
Warsop, M Joyce, 'Setting the Solidarity in Families: The Domestic Scene', in **Family Times**, op cit, p 8.
Stubbs, Charles, 'Yahweh's Nursery' in Ibid, p 9.

283. Warsop, M Joyce, 'Around the Country' in Ibid, p 12.
Warsop, Peter, 'Building and Maintenance' in Ibid, p 33.
Family Times, No 38, nd (1982), p 11.

284. Warsop, M Joyce, 'Setting the Solidarity in Families', op cit, pp 8,9.
"Disciplining" of children and adolescents sometimes includes spankings from "Dad"(ie Peter Warsop).

285. Covenant College was an examination centre for London University Board 'O' levels (now presumably GCSEs).

286. Warsop, Peter R, 'The Vision in **Family Times Souvenir Edition**, p 13.

287. Warsop, Valerie, 'Recollections' in Ibid, p 5.

288. Warsop, M Joyce, 'The Foundation' in Ibid, p 14.
Anderson, Hannah-Grace, 'Great Shall Be the Company in Ibid, pp 25-28.
Hayes, Rachel, 'Beach Avenue Bible Shop' in Ibid, p 29.
Warsop, Peter R, 'Covenant College Transport Dept.' in Ibid, p 30.
Smith, Daniel, 'The Body Shop' in Ibid, pp 30,31.
Warsop, Peter R, 'Building and Maintenance' in Ibid, p 32.

289. Warsop, Peter R 'Greetings from Jamaica in Ibid, p33.
Warsop, M Joyce, 'Koinonia' in Ibid, pp34,35.

290. The Congregation of Yahweh adopted sabbatarianism in August 1971.
Anderson, Hannah-Grace, 'Extracts from a Diary' in **Family**

Times, p 18.

291. Yahweh' is the most likely pronunciation of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton and 'Yashua' in the Hebrew form of the Greek 'Jesus'.

292."Pagan christian rituals" for the Congregation of Yahweh include Christmas, Easter, and all other non-Jewish festivals.

293.Warsop, M Joyce, Following the Cloud' op cit, p 4.

294.Knutson, Asmund, 'The Power Station of Righteousness' in **Ha'shem**, No 8,Nottingham: Congregation of Yahwen, nd, pp 7,8.

295.Knutson, Asmund, David's Greater Son' in **Ha'shem**, No 10, nd, p 8.

296.Traina, A B, **The Holy Name Bible**, Brandywine, Maryland: The Scripture Research Association, 1963, pV; **Introducing the Holy Name Bible** (a booklet which reproduces the preface and is distributed by the Congregation of Yahweh), as above, 1974.

297.Traina, **Holy Name Bible**, Genesis 2:18,19 and note (normally numbered as Genesis 2:21,22).

298.Warsop, Peter R, Yahweh's Order is Zion' in **Ha'shem**, No 2, nd p 13.

299.Humber, John, Interviewed on 13th December, 1982.
One of their writers states that sanctification "is not simply an instantaneous experience but an ongoing experience... we are saved by the atoning blood of Yashua that we may know, in experience the sanctifying power of His blood. Our ultimate salvation though, is dependent upon our yieldedness to the sanctifying influence of His Spirit." Henry, Lynval, 'Be Ye Holy' in **Ha'shem**, No 10, nd, pp15,16.

300. The Call to Holiness' in **Ha'shem**, No 7, nd (article written in February 1977), p 8.
Warsop, Peter R, 'Yahweh's Order is Zion' op cit, pp 10,13.

301.Ibid, pp 14,15.

302.Ibid.

303.Leviticus Chapter 23.

304.Humber interview, op cit.

305.Warsop, Peter R, Editorial' in **Ha'shem**, No 12, nd, p 3.

306.Anderson, Hannah G, 'Eating Habits' in Ha'shem No 11, nd, pp 16-18.
Warsop, M Joyce, 'The Beauty of Holiness' in Ha'shem, No 10, nd, pp 17,18.

307.Warsop, Valerie, 'Recollections' op cit, p 5.

308.Warsop, Peter R, 'Yahweh's Order is Zion' op cit, p 12.

309.Wagner, Rebecca, 'Granddaughter of a Druid' in Family Times, No 38, nd (1982), p 11.

310.Humber interview, op cit.

311.Henry, op cit, pp 14,16.
Warsop, Peter R, 'Yahweh's Order is Zion' op cit, p 14.

312.Ibid.

PART III

BLACK PENTECOSTALISM: FUNCTION, IDEOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOME FUNCTIONS OF BLACK PENTECOSTALISM

> It is after all only a tiny fraction of humanity, living mainly on that thickly populated peninsula of Asia which juts out into the Atlantic Ocean and calling themselves 'civilised', who, because they lack all contact with nature, have hit upon the idea that religion is a peculiar kind of mental disturbance of undiscoverable purport. Viewed from a safe distance, say from Central Tibet or Africa, it would certainly look as if this fraction had projected its own unconscious mental derangement upon nations still possessed of healthy instincts.
> — Carl Jung

The reasons for the formation and pullulation of black Pentecostal congregations in Wolverhampton and other parts of Britain cannot be reduced to any simplistic all embracing causal factor. To say that they were a reaction to the rejection and discrimination which black people experienced in white churches and the wider society, is only partly true. To explain their growth solely in terms of status frustration, perceived deprivation, social disorganisation or cultural dissonance is also a gross oversimplification. Many people in these categories do not become Pentecostals and many who appear to suffer from none of these things do. While such factors have undoubtedly had some influence, we do well to remember that black Pentecostalism arrived in Britain with the early immigrants

from the Caribbean. Christianity, with a distinctively black understanding and liturgy, was part and parcel of the whole cultural, psychological and spiritual 'baggage' which black proletarians brought with them to England.

The phenomenal growth of black Pentecostalism in Britain also has a theological dimension. The poor and oppressed are both the special focus of God's grace and often demonstrate a greater openness to the message of God's love (1Samuel 2:8; Psalm 69:33; 107:40,41; 113:7; 140:12; Luke 1:52,53; 4:18; 6:20; 7:22; James 2:5 etc). In social science terms, black Pentecostalism is not wholly explicable as a dependent variable determined by the economic, social and political forces within a society. As Max Weber has made clear, religion may be the independent variable which brings about social, political and economic change.1 The power of ideas, beliefs and values on the human mind and the influences of the unconscious and the Holy Spirit can only be denied by a bigoted materialism which is blind to aspects of humanity which are the focus of study by Jungian, humanistic and transpersonal psychologists as well as theologians and philosophers, not to mention the data cited in support of the psi-hypothesis and the questions of causality raised by quantum physics.

Some of the reasons for the formation and growth of black Pentecostal congregations may, however, be more readily assessed when we consider their functions in relation to

their ability to meet the diverse needs of those who have joined them. To speak of the functions of black Pentecostal congregations in Britain is not to imply that the following analysis is about to proceed from a sociologically functionalist perspective: that it will be an examination of how black Pentecostal congregations contribute to the maintenance and survival of the social system and how shared norms and values also ensure their own survival. Certainly elements of sociological functionalism will be detected but this is not the primary perspective of this chapter. Rather, it is an examination of the way in which black Pentecostal congregations function to meet the individual and group needs of their adherents.

The fact that black Pentecostal congregations function to meet certain needs of their adherents also suggests areas in which the wider society and the mainstream denominations have failed to meet these needs, not only for Pentecostal sect members but perhaps also for many other black people in Britain who, as a result, may involve themselves, not only in other supportive groups but also in deviant groups and behaviour, or experience the ongoing frustration of unsatisfied needs.

This is not to deny, however, that many of the norms and values of black Pentecostalism do function to maintain the social status quo. The black Pentecostal congregation is a powerful agency of social control. Many first generation

settlers uncritically accept existing social structures. In fact, the black Pentecostal congregation provides divine sanctions for some of the norms, values, mores and taboos among the stable law-abiding section of transplanted Caribbean society. Furthermore, involvement in the Pentecostal sect may divert the potentially disruptive (socially disfunctional) energies of a significant section of the black population. Effort is channelled into religious activities rather than political involvement or protest, and the entertainment and recreational outlets provided by the Pentecostal congregation ensure that there is an escape from "the world" rather than a desire to change it. "By faith the Lord will provide for me," testifies an elderly man.2 "I have everything I need in Jesus," testifies another. "Turn the other cheek: give up the right for the wrong," exhorts a man in his thirties.3 Forgiveness, humility and belief in future heavenly rewards which will be granted to the meek, tend to discourage challenges to the economic and political structures of society. Not only does reliance on supernatural solutions and the black Pentecostal ethic (of the first generation) militate against many socially disfunctional activities, but dissatisfaction with social, economic or political institutions is (for the first generation) generally manifest in withdrawal rather than challenge. "The world" for most black Pentecostals is to be utterly renounced and rejected. It is perceived (or at least portrayed) as irredeemably evil and of value only as a potential source

of converts to faith in Jesus. This, at any rate is the theory, but in practise black Pentecostals are rather more ambivalent about their relationship with "the world" and a significant section of the second generation do not share their parents' docility or unwillingness to challenge systems and structure which oppress or disadvantage them. These challenges are not only to the norms and values in secular society but also to the beliefs, ethics and taboos in the Pentecostal organisations themselves. Such challenges to the 'orthodoxy' of the sect are generally met with considerable resistance, especially from leaders of the first generation who perceive these challenges as dysfunctional, not for the wider society, but for the congregation itself. Challenges have the potential to create disunity and put the very existence of the congregation at risk.

The history of the pullulation of black Pentecostalism in Britain is one of doctrinal in-fighting. Because of the whole-hearted commitment found among Pentecostals, doctrinal and ideological differences of opinion can become magnified to the point at which splits occur. However, more commonly, such theological differences are simply rationalisations of personal conflicts .4 Such schism, however, is not, as some have assumed, disfunctional. On the contrary, fission is always an incentive for renewed efforts in evangelism as well as proselytisation. New groups are started in other geographical areas and a wider

choice is offered to potential converts. Luther P Gerlach and Virginia H Hine correctly state that:

> Organizational unity is functional in a steady-state social institution designed to maintain social stability and the status quo. Segmentation and "internecine dogfighting" are functional in a social institution designed for rapid growth and the implementation of social change.5

Gerlach and Hine also point out that the decentralised and segmented structures typical of Pentecostalism minimise failure because serious mistakes, rather than putting the whole movement in jeopardy, only effect one congregation or organisation. Black Pentecostalism in Britain comprises a polycephalous movement linked by a complex and largely informal network of relationships.

Although black Pentecostalism in Britain is diverse in terms of its polity and internal relationships, there are some generalisations which can be made. Those organisations which have white headquarters in the United States reflect this white dominance or influence in structures which are often bureaucratic rather than charismatic; where authority rests with an overseer or minister because he has been appointed by his 'superiors' rather than the simple recognition by the congregation that he is called by God and empowered by the Spirit. This latter form of polity is typical of the Oneness organisations and of many Trinitarian congregations which are no longer - and some that never have been - under white control. While virtually all black Pentecostal

organisations are episcopal, the bishops or overseers have various degrees of power. Some are the charismatic heads of their own black-led organisations; others are appointed by white headquarters in the United States. Some have virtually absolute power - at least in theory - over the individual congregations of their organisation; others are almost figure-heads of a loose congregational federation. Some are democratic; others appear to be autocratic. However even the most authoritarian only rule by permission of their followers. There are also autonomous congregations which are independent of any organisation. Examples of both types which are found in the Borough of Wolverhampton are described in the appendices.

Each congregation, whether part of an organisation or not, generally has a reticulum of relationships with other black Pentecostal and Holiness congregations and individuals which reaches beyond their own organisations and even their own type of Pentecostalism. These networks of peripheral ecumenism are more personal than organisational. Bishops and pastors in different organisations, with different tenets, often know and respect each other - even though they may condemn one another's views as heretical from the pulpit - and in many cases once worked together in the same congregation or organisation. Choirs and singing groups are invited to participate in "programmes" and concerts, and visiting ministers or "brethren" invited to greet the congregation providing their views are not considered too

deviant. Members of the extended family, friends from the same village or parish "back 'ome" and colleagues at work often attend special services or conventions held by each others organisations. Other factors which bind fragmented black Pentecostalism into a single reticulate movement are a shared ideological core, the black leitmotive and common experiences of racial prejudice and of encounter with the divine.

While the black Pentecostal sect is often, at first glance, totalitarian (particularly for the first generation) and the pastor's role generally authoritarian to the extent that he upholds a narrow rigidity which limits the social and behavioural patterns of members, in those organisations which are free from white control this totalitarianism and authoritarianism is, paradoxically, often the product of the democratic nature of the sect by which the first generation maintain the totalitarian ethos by mutual consensus and **permit** their pastor to wield authority just as long as he complies with norms which are conceptualised as divine sanctions. The consensus of first generation members is, however, to some extent the product of internalised, unrecognised and often alien ideology. With the second generation, the democratic consensus and the ideology which underpins it are being challenged, and with this challenge, the authority of both the congregation and the pastor to limit social and behavioural patterns to the extent advocated by the first generation. This shift in

the direction of denominationalism reflects a modification of the sect's latent functions - which is common in the history of most sects - to meet certain needs of the second generation which are different to those of the first.

Black Pentecostals demonstrate a very high level of personal commitment to the congregation, it's ethical rigorism and its teaching. Commitment to the sect and its behavioural requirements is, however, an outworking of - or is rationalised as - commitment to Christ. While some aspects of their commitment to doctrine are real, others are quite superficial. Persecution, paradoxically, generally reinforces this commitment. Whether such persecution is actually the result of behaviour stemming from the religious orientation of the individual, or whether it is the result of racism or other factors which are simply interpreted as "persecution for righteousness sake" (Matt 5:10-12), the effect is the same. Persecution can be considered as evidence that one is a true child of God (Romans 8(17) and acts as a reinforcement of one's commitment.7

Within the black Pentecostal congregations are people with varying perspectives who may be grouped into six ideal types. Among the first generation are the **Conformists** (some 95%) who staunchly uphold the fundamentalistic orthodoxy and traditional values, norms and taboos of the sect. This includes an unwillingness to challenge "the man

of God" or the power and authority structures in the secular world. However, there is also a second type among the first generation which I will call the **Silent Radicals.** These people (some 5%) are often profoundly uneasy about many of the things which the Conformists uncritically accept, but will seldom articulate their concerns except in the most understated and conciliatory way. While it is dangerous to overgeneralise, there appear to be five major reasons which, to a greater or lesser extent, contribute to this silence. Firstly, the older generation feel that they lack both the linguistic skills and the vocabulary to articulate their dissent in a way which reflects what they believe and feel. Secondly, they demonstrate an unwillingness to challenge authority by confrontation. The doctrinal authority of the organisation or the leadership of the congregation is not to be openly questioned or criticised. The attitudes of black people in Jamaica to authority (both political and ecclesiastical) were shaped by the historical, social and political situations which oppressed them. The present first generation of settlers in Britain were socialised into a metropolitan Jamaican system of values which included the inculcation of a 'respect' for authority (for ones 'betters') which meant that if those in such positions were to be challenged it was not by direct confrontation - with a more powerful protagonist - but by opting out, failing to comply or cooperate, or paying lip service only. In a society where direct confrontation with authority was most likely to

result not only in failure but also damage to oneself, it is not surprising that less hazardous methods of registering dissent were often adopted.8 Disaffected first generation members generally indicate their dissatisfaction by failing to cooperate with the leadership in sect activities and withdrawing, not only their personal support, but also in some cases withholding their tithes. Thirdly, the older generation are generally unwilling to expose themselves to criticism and censure with a perceived concomitant loss of dignity. To openly criticise or challenge the official teachings and practices of the sect is to invite the possibility of public rebuke, disgrace, loss of office or roll in relation to the congregation, and marginalisation. Fourthly, there is also concern that overt challenges or criticisms may undermine both the social cohesion of the group and their own sense of security in, and identity with, the congregation. Finally, there is the difficulty of criticising the sect's teaching or practice without it being perceived as a direct challenge to the leadership. Disagreement over issues almost invariably becomes personalised as leaders feel threatened and react in 'self defence'. On the other hand, even perceptive leaders who do not feel threatened, find it extremely difficult to challenge sect teachings and practices themselves without losing credibility and the respect of those conservative elements who form the majority in many congregations. Opting out - ignoring the insults - rather than confrontation is also the response of most first

generation settlers to anything short of physical racist abuse.

Among the second generation there are also **Conformists** (some 30%) and **Radicals** but these **Young Radicals** (also about 30%) are not silent like their parents. The Radicals of the second generation are developing a language out of their bi-cultural experience which they are beginning to use to articulate dissent and make explicit some of the theological sub-stratum in their congregations. They have also been socialised within a culture where direct and successful challenges to authority are becoming increasingly common. The risk of marginalisation is real but in many congregations there is a substantial coterie of such black-British Radicals who support each other intellectually and socially, and provide a sense of corporate identity. First generation leaders are often unwilling to 'take on' the black-British Radicals in public - or even in private - because they fear becoming involved in arguments which they may lose. The superior education of the second generation is often perceived as a threat which cannot be dealt with openly. Instead, the Young Radicals are no longer asked to exhort or preach, their Sunday School classes are given to others and they are privately (and occasionally publicly) accused of disloyalty to their sect and their leaders. A few have developed considerable theological expertise while remaining authentic within their tradition as a result of undertaking

the Certificate in Theology through the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership in Selly Oak, Birmingham.

In Britain as in Jamaica and in West Africa, the elders are still perceived as the guardians and teachers of wisdom. For this reason there is considerable resistance in many of the black Pentecostal congregations to young people entering the ministry. This resistance is further strengthened by the disjunction in terms of language, culture and perceptions between the older first generation immigrants and the younger black British. Young people who, because of their superior education and their more correct use of the English language, may be seen as getting 'above themselves' are likely to be put down by their elders, perhaps with a Jamaican proverb: "What a sintin' when dish towel tu'n tablecloth."

A third type within the second generation are **Latent Radicals** (again about 30%) who lack the reflection of the vociferous **Young Radicals** (and often their intelligence and courage) but share similar views and, with a little encouragement, will often 'come out'. These radicals will not ignore the racist insults and the discrimination as many of their parents did.

The **Conformists** of the second generation not only support the 'orthodoxy', norms and values of the first generation, they often adopt their liturgical and preaching styles.

This helps to ensure their acceptance among the older members and makes it more likely that they will be accorded positions of respect, influence and leadership. At the other end of the continuum are the second generation **Rebels** whose outspoken views result in their alienation from the congregation which they ultimately leave in order to pursue their goals in the socio-political arenas. Finally, the **Respectables** (some 10%) are the second generation group who have most thoroughly internalised white ideology. For them acceptance of this ideology is a denial of the existence of social conflict. For them society is indeed perceived in terms of a functional unity. Such is the Respectables' internalisation of white values and norms that they will often mock the language, liturgical motor behaviour and beliefs of the first generation and do all in their power to comply with what they perceive as white society's criteria for respectability. These, of course, are ideal types. There is a great deal of overlapping and most individuals fall between the 'extreme' positions outlined above. Furthermore, the proportions of the different types varies considerably between organisations and between congregations in the same organisation. Generally the proportion of radicals increases with the degree of black autonomy and freedom from white North American influence. The percentages in parentheses cited above are based on a large three-stage congregation with a white American headquarters.

Thus the maintenance of the social status quo, both of the sect and of the wider society, is by no means guaranteed by black Pentecostals. While there are powerful conservative elements there are also those who could become a force for radical change. Black Pentecostalism does have the (yet unrealised) potential to become a political force which challenges the status quo in Britain. In particular, their eschatology and millenarianism is a declaration, not only that things can be different but different in a revolutionary way. The rich, powerful and mighty will be brought down and the poor and humble saints will be exalted.9 While the social control exercised by black Pentecostal congregations does meet society's need to integrate and control potentially subversive and revolutionary elements, it is too simplistic to echo Marx who characterised religion as the opium of the people, for religion can have a prophetic function and be revolutionary! It is nevertheless true that for the majority of the first generation and a significant proportion of the second, many black-led organisations stifle the radical cries for social justice and lend support - albeit unwittingly - to the maintenance of a status quo in which black people are disadvantaged.

The division of this chapter under sub headings is something of an artifice because the way in which many diverse needs are met by involvement in the black Pentecostal congregation is not readily amenable to

particularisation. Thus functions which are dealt with under one heading have ramifications which fall under other headings. To describe all of these interrelationships would make the chapter too complex and unwieldy, hence the artificial delimits. However, the reader should bear in mind that the way in which the black Pentecostal congregations function to meet individual and group needs is - like their world-view and worship - both integrated and holistic. Salvation is for the whole person and the functions of black Pentecostalism are all concerned with personal and community redemption. Manifest functions are, of course, a reflection of evangelical and fundamentalist interpretations of the Bible which tend to be very narrow, but latent functions embrace a much wider spectrum of human needs.

A second artifice is the use of the past tense in many passages dealing with functions which were **and are** primarily of great importance for the first generation, and the present tense when discussing those which are primarily of greater importance to the second generation who are predominantly British-born.

a. MATERIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SECURITY

For many Caribbean Christians, the black Pentecostal congregation was (and generally still is) a haven of - 'warmth' and 'life' in the midst of white denominations which found themselves incapable - for cultural reasons as well as xenophobia - of expressing the

love, acceptance and enthusiasm which many migrants considered the hallmarks of authentic Christianity.

From the rural parishes of Jamaica into the urban sprawls of the Midlands and other industrial conurbations came black people with high hopes of a more prosperous way of life. They came as loyal citizens of the Commonwealth; Anglophile and British in education, if not in culture. They were generally confronted with the unsympathetic, often unfriendly and sometimes extremely hostile white population. They were effectively stripped of their British identity and constantly reminded that they were "immigrants" - a term that came to mean black and alien. Their knowledge of English history, geography and literature was of little value among the white working class. For most West Indians, exposure to the English proletariat was a painful shock. The prior experience which many had with the English in Jamaica was of middle-class educators or clergy. Nothing had prepared them for what they experienced upon their arrival in Britain.

Confronted not only with the problems associated with adaption to a new culture, environment and climate but also with the racism of the indigenous population, many immigrants from the Caribbean found in the Pentecostal community the material and psychological security they needed to survive in an alien and threatening environment.

To some extent we may view black Pentecostalism in the way in which Emile Durkheim partially perceived all religion: as a desire for or striving of the collective consciousness towards a perfect society, an ideal world, "a dream with which men have lightened their sufferings."10 But for black Pentecostals, their faith was more than a mere illusion which provided some psychological compensation. The worshipping community formed the centre of a mutual support network which assisted them in finding housing and employment, understanding the welfare system and dealing with authority. In emergencies, there were people who could help financially by lending or giving money or setting up a "partner scheme" (community bank). Help was often given spontaneously in response to obvious need without any specific request being made. Children were looked after while mothers went to work. In times of crisis - births, marriages, sickness, legal problems, loss of employment, eviction, moving house and bereavement - there was practical help, counselling, consolation, the prayers of the congregation, the therapeutic touch of "laying on of hands" for healing and the supporting knowledge that people cared.

Behind this help lay the conviction that Jesus loved them, cared for them and was meeting their needs, albeit through his instrument the church:

> Yes I know Jesus;
> Yes I know Jesus;
> Yes I know Jesus for myself.

Woke me up this morning;
Feeds me when I'm hungry;
Comforts me when I'm lonely;
Yes I know Jesus for myself.11

Whatever life's problems, there was the assurance that everything was going to be:

All right;
All right;
Just a little talk with Jesus makes it right.12

Furthermore, their encounter and experience of the divine in the worshipping community - including glossolalia - was treated as tangible evidence of God's love and care. With this knowledge came a sense of security and well-being.13 This elderly choir's rendition expresses a heartfelt conviction:

I sing because I'm happy;
I sing because I'm free;
His eye's upon the sparrow,
And I **know** he cares for [or watches] me.14

And both generations join together in proclaiming:

I go to the rock of my salvation;
I go to the stone that the builders rejected;
I go to the mountain, and the mountain stand by me.
When all around is sinking sand,
On Christ the solid rock I stand;
When I need a shelter, when I need a friend,
I go to the rock.15

Even in the face of overwhelming adversity, this fellowship with Jesus which finds expression - and incarnation - in the Pentecostal community is a way forward: a means both of surviving, enduring and ultimately overcoming:

When my way groweth drear,
Precious Lord linger near;
When my life is past and gone,
Hear my cry, hear my call,
Take my hand lest I fall,
Take my hand precious Lord, lead me on.

Precious Lord take my hand,
Lead me on, help me stand;
I am tired, I am weary, I am worn;
Through the storm, through the night,
Lead me on to the light.
Take my hand precious Lord, lead me home.16

Most of the first generation black Pentecostals responded to the upheavals associated with migration to a "mother country" which did not want it's black 'children' except for labour, by escaping from the ideology and socio-economic outworkings of racism into the sanctuary of the ethnic worshipping community where in-group solidarity formed a protection against the disdain and rejection of white society. This transplanted cultural community provided an escape from the anxieties and frustrations generated by life at the bottom of the socio-economic pile in a fundamentally racist society. Such a flight from the wider reality into the alternative reality of faith, pneumatic experience and cultural expression, though only temporary, was both a respite from, and a source of power to face a hostile environment with renewed hope.17 For those who were poorly educated or illiterate the anxiety of this being discovered by their white workmates and acquaintances was temporary relieved in a milieu which did not threaten their self-image and pride.18 Involvement with the Pentecostal congregation was, however, more than escape, for in the experience of communal worship black Pentecostals were endowed with spiritual and psychological power to endure the hardships imposed by racism without bitterness or self defeating depression.

For the radicals of the second generation there is an increasing desire to confront the ideological, social, economic and political issues which relate to the inequality of treatment experienced by black people. The black congregation remains a place of empowering as it was for their parents but now the empowering extends to offence as well as defence; confronting evil as well as enduring in the face of adversity. No longer is verbal confrontation avoided. The young radicals will not keep silent as most of their parents have done.

For both generations, the black congregation provides an antidote to fear. Not only to the fears of death, damnation and possible suffering in this life, but also to what psycologist Erich Fromm calls "the fear of freedom".19 People seek, not only the satisfaction of physical needs but also a need which is the very essence of the human mode of existence and practice of life: the need to be related to the outside world and to avoid feelings of aloneness which can lead to mental disintegration. An individual may live among people yet be totally overcome with feelings of isolation because of a lack of relatedness to values, symbols and patterns of meaning. The dread of isolation can be overcome when the individual is connected to others. For first generation settlers the primary ties which gave them security and a sense of belonging have been progressively severed. The rapid post-war transition of

Jamaica from a rural peasant society to an urban industrial one created a highly anomic environment. William Wedenoja summarised the situation as follows:

> Modernization, therefore, included techno-economic development, urbanization, increasing affluence and social mobility, a rising standard of living, new expectations for social progress, expansion of the middle class, more democratic politics and materialism. Communities were severely disrupted by modernization due largely to the replacement of subsistence by wage labor: economic achievement replaced personal ties as a basis for prestige, individual effort replaced communal and family cooperative effort, and division of labor by skill replaced division by age, sex, and kinship. Economic cooperation was replaced by individual competitiveness which fostered increasing inequality and exchange based on profit rather than sharing. Individual advancement in wealth and prestige undermined traditional patterns of authority in the family and community and a migration to urban areas disturbed kin-based relationships. While many saw economic progress in these changes, they also perceived increasing conflict over goods and resources, a challenge to traditional norms, greater personal insecurity and, in general, a rather anomic condition.[20]

Emmigration from rural agrarian Jamaica meant the severing of long-standing kinship bonds with extended family, congregation, village community and nation. On their arrival as settlers in an alien land, they were cast into an anomic condition when confronted with different cultural norms and values, subtle differences in language, paralinguistic communication and behaviour patterns, the psychological strains caused by transition from a rural Jamaican parish to an industrial inner city, and the generally unsympathetic, often unfriendly and sometimes hostile white population. The restrictions concomitant with their primary ties were no longer imposed, but with

this loss of restraint came a loss of all sense of security and feeling of belonging. Standing alone and free, the world was perceived as hostile, perilous and overpowering. These feelings of fear, aloneness and powerlessness gave rise to impulses to relinquish individuality and freedom by establishing secondary bonds with the emerging black ethnic group in Britain and, more specifically, by voluntary association with black congregations. Such a desire to give up the independence of the individual self by fusing it with the congregation was done in order to acquire the strength which the individual perceived as lacking. Both the loss of primary ties, the anomie of immigrant status and the effects of racist ideology and discrimination tended to reinforce feelings of inferiority, powerlessness and individual insignificance. One method of escape from such feelings was to become submerged in and part of a bigger, more powerful whole outside of oneself; to participate in the strength, security and glory of a greater power: the black Pentecostal worshipping community. This 'symbiosis' was generally rooted in weakness - "fear of freedom" - but within the worshipping community it can and did, paradoxically, lead to both corporate and individual empowering, self confidence and boldness.

> The Lord is my light and my salvation;
> Who shall I fear!
> Who shall I fear!
> Who shall I fear!...
> The Lord is the strength of my life;
> Who shall I fear!
> In the time of trouble he shall hide me...
> Who shall I fear!
> Wait on the Lord and be of good courage,

He shall strengthen thy life![2]

This individual empowering, self confidence and boldness is, however, largely restricted to some of the first generation leaders and the radicals of the second generation. For the majority of the first generation there is a tendency to reject anything which threatens the stability of the sect's doctrine, norms or taboos because of their function as an antidote to anomie. Most are profoundly disturbed by the radical statements of some of the second generation, uncomfortable with many of their questions and resistant to their challenges concerning 'orthodoxy' and 'orthopraxis'. Most of the first generation desire the feelings of security engendered by the old familiar themes being expounded again and again. Within the congregation, beliefs, attitudes and sentiments are reinforced and the solidarity of the sect perpetuated. Only a few of the first generation - the Silent Radicals - and a much larger proportion of the second generation have the personal strength to 'break out' of this citadel of safety; to identify with the needs of others outside of the congregation and to challenge the social structures which others are overawed by. Having grown up in this society, most of the second generation - inspite of racism - feel less threatened by it and less alienated from it. Consequently, their ties to the Pentecostal congregation have been weakened. For them, as for the first generation, it is a basis for meaningful social relationships and a place of security to retreat to in times of trouble but it

is no longer a place to hide in.

> Jesus build a fence,
> All around me every day.
> Lord I want you to protect me,
> As I travel along life's way.
> Lord I know you can;
> Lord I know you will,
> Fight my battle if I just keep still.
> Build a fence all around me every day.
>
> Living by faith, in Jesus above,
> Trusting, confiding in His great love;
> From all harm safe in His sheltering arm;
> I'm living by faith and feel no alarm. 22

Because the survival of the congregation is to a large extent dependent on the persistence of ethnic group solidarity their is an often unrecognised and unadmitted promotion of ethnic identity and sectarian identity which is however legitimised in terms of being 'real' Christians. While many black Pentecostals recognise the cultural disincentives to whites joining their congregations, they are often unaware that solidarity may owe almost as much to the homogeneous nature of the congregation as it does to a shared faith.

b. BELONGING, IDENTITY AND SELF-ESTEEM

James Cone, writing of black Christianity in the United States during slavery, stresses the inseparability of the "black self-affirming both his being and his being-in-community." "Thus," says Cone, "the struggle to be both a person and a member of community was the major focus of black religion."23 Similarly, the African view that a person is not fully human in isolation from social intercourse, also finds a powerful echo among black

Pentecostals. Identity and self-esteem were and are to a great extent dependent on a sense of belonging to God and to the company of the saved. The two are interdependent and virtually synonymous. Membership of the Pentecostal congregation means belonging to something (the organisation) and someone (God) more powerful and prestigious than oneself. No matter how insignificant the individual may feel, this sense of belonging to "the Church of God" or "the Church of Jesus Christ" grants her a new identity as a "saint" and the self esteem of a "child of God". Identity as the people of God - the saints - echoes the black leitmotive which identified the diaspora in slavery with Israel in Egyptian bondage; with those who looked in hope to a coming day of deliverance. That day came with the emancipation from slavery, yet their continued subjugation to the cultural, ideological, economic and political dominance of whites ensured that the black experience of oppression would continue to generate a future hope in the ultimate justice and deliverance which God would grant them.

In the rural parishes of Jamaica, the first generation had a sense of belonging to the local community, village, extended family and church. In the British urban environment relationships between people were reified and dominated by role performances which exacerbated their sense of aloneness. Many turned to the Pentecostal congregation to fulfil the functions of all these

institutions. In common with their ancestors in West Africa and their forebears in New World slavery, the worshipping community is an ethnic community: a little Jamaica in an alien land. The overwhelming majority of first generation black Pentecostals in Wolverhampton are not only from the same island but, almost without exception, each congregation has an overwhelming majority drawn from the same district or parish! Many knew each other before settling in Britain and over 80% of recruitment was probably as a result of kinship or pre-existing bonds of friendship. Culture, language, food and so on are all part of a familiar environment recreated in unfamiliar surroundings. Here black settlers could enjoy their faith and worship in the style they were used to - in shout and song; in call and response; in liturgical dance and motor behaviour. Here they could relax, forget about speaking 'good' English, use patois (Creole), exchange news, tell stories and proverbs, enjoy Jamaican humour, talk about "back 'ome", indulge in nostalgia, eat curried goat and rice and peas and be accepted as family and kin. In the rural parishes of Jamaica, the extended matrifocal family and the village community were both the social and economic bases of society, and the church often it's centre. In Britain, the Pentecostal congregation provided a cohesive institutional structure within the Afro-Caribbean ethnic group and acted as a surrogate extended family or village community. Not only do black Pentecostals sing and testify:

God is my Mother,
My Father,
My Sister,
My Brother.

But in the Pentecostal congregation members are also "brothers" and "sisters", older women are "mothers" and the "pastor" or "elder" is a father figure.

When members are to travel abroad, the whole congregation unite in prayer for them. Choirs, groups and soloists sing in their honour, exhortations encourage them and a special offering is taken up for them. If the member is to be away for an extended period or is moving permanently, it is common for every person in the congregation to hug and kiss them in a moving demonstration of love, concern and 'familial' solidarity.

Like the traditional proletarian matrifocal family in Jamaica, the Pentecostal congregation's strength, commitment and self-sacrifice is largely dependent upon its women who outnumber men by about two to one. The reasons for this sexual imbalance (which is common in most churches) are difficult to assess but I would suggest that at least four factors contribute to this. Many Jamaican women, deserted by the father of their children, looked to the quasi extended family of the Pentecostal congregation for support, and sublimated sexuality responded to the male pastor as 'husband' or 'father' figure or as a projection of her archetypal **animus** who speaks with authority. It is

noteworthy that in congregations where a woman is the pastor, the proportion of men is higher. In the past, the outlets for the development of social relationships were more limited for women (particularly black women) than they were for men. The Pentecostal congregation with its activities throughout the week, met this need. Finally, Jesus, as the superlative role model of Christianity, exemplified a set of responses which are more often associated with femininity than with masculinity. Thus the 'fit' between Christian responses and 'female' responses is better than for responses which are, at least culturally, associated with masculinity. For women the dissonance is less than for men.

The powerful sense of community in black congregations will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter but at this juncture it is sufficient to note that it is genuine community rather than the congregation merely having scheduled 'performances' largely carried out by professional clergy for the benefit of an 'audience'. Black Pentecostals create a participative community which draws all its members into active involvement and a sense of belonging and worth. Furthermore, the process of community reconstruction does not rely merely on the transfer of a 'little Jamaica' to urban England, but is also a response to new conditions experienced by its members. This sense of community extends beyond the organisation to black Christians in other organisations

and, for some, out into the world of the "unsaved". All rites of passage are used as opportunities to reaffirm the solidarity, not only of the congregation and the extended family, but also of large sections of the ethnic social group who attend infant dedications, weddings and, most especially, funerals. Even in one of the most sectarian of organisations - the Church of God of Prophecy - a pastor encouraged his flock to attend the funeral of a deceased "brother" who had been a member of a Oneness organisation. Twelve members immediately offered to go and a deacon volunteered to drive them in his mini-bus. On another occasion a young Church of God of Prophecy pastor stressed in his sermon that successful Christian living was dependent upon a high degree of involvement with members of the wider Christian community.[24]

Wakes for the dead, held by the first generation, are one of the most powerful expressions of solidarity in the wider black ethnic group. Beginning twenty-four hours after death, they last for "nine-nights" during which the support of the community helps the bereaved family to work through their grief and come to terms with their loss. Ending on the "Nint-Night" with the singing of "Sankeys" (Hymns from Moody and Sankey's revivals) and eulogies, it echoes pre-Christian practices to prevent hauntings by sending the 'soul' of the deceased to the land of the dead (Lomas Land).[25]

When black people arrived in Britain they were faced, at least in theory, with the choice of whether or not to identify and integrate with the host community. However, integration implies cultural assimilation with an exacerbation of the problem of identity. Alternatively there was the possibility of developing a sense of autonomous community defined in terms of blackness and wider than the Pentecostal organisation or movement.[26] Integration into white structures and access to white avenues of secular power was, however, denied to the vast majority of proletarian blacks who suffer under the double disadvantage of both race and class discrimination. Furthermore, the English working-class, including the rank and file of the Trade Union movement, have little sense of class solidarity (a class for itself) or even common identity (a class in itself). Their own lack of integration means that they have little to offer black people. In addition, the English working-class are themselves partly the products of racist ideology which all too readily blames black 'immigrants' for social ills and thus divides the proletariat on the basis of colour. Black people were (and often still are) treated as an under-class by many working-class whites who gained a spurious sense of dignity from their beliefs that - inspite of their own low status, social deprivation and the effects of economic recession - they were superior to the 'immigrants'. Prejudice, racism and discrimination demanded assimilation while, paradoxically, refusing to accept even the most

a-culturated black conformists as full members of working-class society simply because they were black. Because the integration option was simply not available to the first generation (except integration into the social strata as an underclass) it is not surprising that the black Pentecostal congregations formed the bases of autonomous communities. For many of the white contemporaries of second generation blacks, racist ideology has been weakened - but not eradicated - by a shared education, common problems and interests and a partially shared culture. Nevertheless, even for the black British, integration into an already fragmented and racist working-class has little attraction, and their identification with a black sub-culture - secular or ecclesiastical - is generally a more acceptable basis for social solidarity and identity.

Arthur M Brazier writing of the United States, notes that:

> When black people organize, white people panic and strike back... History has shown that black people cannot rely on the moral integrity of organized white society to give power to black people voluntarily.[27]

In Britain, the organisation of some black people into Pentecostal congregations was perceived by the indigenous whites as probably the least threatening of the possibilities for social solidarity. The, often erroneous, white perception of religion as primarily individualistic (a person's relationship to God) and black religion, in particular, as exclusively other worldly, allayed any fears

of the Pentecostal congregations becoming hotbeds of black militancy.

For both generations the sense of positive identity which results from belonging to a Christian congregation is important, but more so for the first generation than the second. For many of the first, it was a major, if not the sole source of positive identity and self-esteem. Noel Erskine writes that:

> Long after the abolition of slavery they carry its memory and scars. Their estimate of themselves is still greatly influenced by the memory of slavery. Although black people may have rejected the history and the world that sought to reduce them to 'peoplelessness', they were still not free from its formative influences.[28]

In secular life most were unskilled or semi-skilled workers at the bottom of the socio-economic structure. They were "coloureds", "niggers", "wogs" and "coons" in the eyes of the white proletariat. Hired to do the dirtiest and most arduous jobs, they were generally the first to be fired when recession began to affect industry. In a racist society, race and colour are criteria of social worth which results in black people being disproportionately restricted to low status, low paid, working-class occupations. Status - the evaluation of black people by whites - is a barrier to embourgeoisement whether defined broadly as power in the market (Weber) or more narrowly as the relationship to the means of production (Marx). Thus in 1974 a mere 2% of West Indian men had professional/management level occupations as compared to 23% for whites, and only 6% were in white

collar jobs as compared to 17% for whites.[29] For black Pentecostals, however, identity was not wholly determined by the "memory of slavery", racist labelling or low occupational status but by their relationship to God and the community of faith. "I am proud to be a child of God," testified an elderly man (who had been reading about the martyrdom of Polycarp!)[30] Not only were black Pentecostals bus drivers or factory workers, tyre moulders or hospital cleaners, they were also "saints", "young peoples' leaders", "Sunday School teachers", "assembly band leaders" (CoGoP), "choir directors", soloists, instrumentalists, "missioneries", "deacons", "evangelists", "ministers", "elders", "mothers", "pastors", "overseers" and "bishops". Membership of the congregation and prestigious roles and titles gave people positive identities, pride, self-respect and respect for others of their race. The black Pentecostal congregation was and is an institution which ascribes honour to its members, meeting their needs to be perceived as honourable people and fulfilling something of their ego-ideals. This is particularly important to those for whom the honours of other social institutions are not available. Furthermore, the sect's rules and taboos - both explicit and implicit - are a means of enabling its members to act in ways which are recognised as honourable and justify the offices and titles which are bestowed on them.

As black Pentecostals gather for worship they can lay aside the boiler-suits and overalls of low status, low income

occupations and dress their best for "King Jesus". "Mothers" and "Missionaries" can put on their white 'uniforms', "brethren" can walk to church with briefcases in their hands, and choirs can dress in uniforms or robes and mortar-boards. Even for members of the upwardly mobile second generation, a major convention will elicit an immaculate turnout which would not be upstaged by a debutante's ball and is the norm in many congregations every Sunday. A reversal of status has been brought about by their church involvement. No longer are they exclusively defined by occupatonal categories or racist stereotypes but by their relationship to God and His people.31 Thus the reversal of social status is not just eschatological but a present reality in the Pentecostal community which is perceived as the foretaste of the coming upside-down (and downside-up) kingdom.

In the corporate and participative worship of the black congregation there are opportunities for ego gratification as people address the assembled multitude in word and song; are listened to and taken seriously; their contributions valued and instantaneous positive feedback given in the form of verbal ejaculations, kinetic communication and applause. The values of the dominant culture - though to some degree internalised - can be cast aside (at least temporarily) and replaced with the values, characteristics and abilities which are perceived as pleasing to God and of benefit to the congregation: preaching, exhorting,

testifying, singing, playing instruments, talking in tongues, praying, living a holy life, experiencing the Spirit, tithing, obeying the rules and taboos and so on. Special recognition is accorded to those with 'spiritual' prowess but all can contribute something of value and receive recognition. The second-class citizen status imposed on them by white society was offset by a first-class Christian self-image reflected upon them by the worshipping community.

Black Pentecostals perceived themselves not only as Christians distinct from "sinners" but also as 'real' Christians as opposed to those who attended the "nominal churches". Their experiential encounter with God - including glossolalia as evidence of Spirit baptism - and ethical rigorism was confirmation of this superiority. One of the functions of both glossolalia and ethical rigorism is to demarcate the in-group from the out-group. They are a basis for congregational solidarity and help sect members to affirm their difference from the "world" and the "nominal churches". They are also evidential. They 'prove' that the individual is sanctified and Spirit filled and thus acceptable to God, and, in the case of glossolalia, that God's presence and power is in and among the congregation during worship.32 Status reversal takes place as the "saints" become aware of their high status with God and the low status in which God is perceived to hold "sinners" and "nominal Christians" who are often

socially and economically 'superior'. The experiences of racial discrimination; social, political and economic deprivation; and status contradictions experienced by many proletarian blacks, are overcome or denied or compensated for by involvement in the black Pentecostal congregation which provides, not only the immediate reversal of social values, perceived status and the values upon which such status is based, but also the eschatological hope of the Second Advent and the establishment of a millenial kingdom is set before them and they can anticipate the role and status reversals which already exist in the Pentecostal sect, being replicated in the wider society.33 The high and rich and powerful and arrogant will be brought down, abased and punished, while they - the economically, politically and socially powerless - will be exalted and rewarded, not because of their deprivation but because they are the saints of God. Here the black leitmotive, orchestrated during slavery, continue to echo most strongly. The message of an inaugurated eschatology proclaims that if they are to share in the blessings of a future millenial kingdom and the joys of heaven, it is because they are God's children now. The millenarian hope of the future is lived out in the black Pentecostal community of the present. Writing of the black church in the United States, Theo Witvliet asserts:

> If there is anywhere that non-persons are addressed as persons, the nameless are given a name, and people who are humiliated and exploited day by day become conscious of their own identity, calling and value, it is in worship - and a black church service is

above all a physical and spiritual event![34]

It is not education which qualifies people to take up office in the black Pentecostal congregations but conversion and calling. White society may reject them but the Spirit calls them to the service of God. Thus black Pentecostals have an identity as Christians: the people who are of such infinite value to God that Jesus died to save them. Jesus is now their ideal-self (ego-ideal) who is internalised as they seek to become progressively more Christ-like through regeneration, water baptism, sanctification, Spirit baptism and the ongoing experiences of the Spirit. This Jesus-like ideal-self 'acts black' but continues to 'look white': He may be culturally black but He is iconographically white. Nevertheless, identification with Jesus is a powerful source of self-respect. Not only do black Pentecostals sing: "Lift the name of Jesus high" but the next line expresses more than an attitude in worship: "Rejoice and hold **your** head up high!"[35] James Cone, writes that in the black churches of the United States:

> Every person becomes somebody, and one can see the people's recognition of their new found identity by the way they walk and 'carry themselves'. They walk with a rhythm of an assurance that they know where they are going, and they talk as if they know the truth about which they speak. It is this experience of being radically transformed by the power of the Spirit that defines the primary style of black worship.[36]

In addition, black Pentecostals also have a sectarian identity as members of a spiritual elite: a more or less

exclusive sect which they perceive as superior, not only to the "nominal churches", but also in some cases to other black Pentecostal organisations. In this sectarianism is something of a protest - albeit a generally inarticulate one - against white or "established church" domination; against paternalism, white attitudes of supremacy and superiority; against the concept of God which is culturally two 'white' and thus identifies Christ as the possession (and projection) of Anglo-Saxondom.

There is, however, another aspect of identity which they must come to terms with: their identity as black people in a predominantly white society, with all that implies in terms of African origins, racism, slavery, colonialism and oppression. In the English speaking Caribbean, black people were taught to despise the black and African elements in their own culture and to emulate the supposedly 'superior' culture of their white masters and mentors. The African survivals in Caribbean culture were consistently branded by whites as inferior, primitive, pagan and unchristian. Thus black people have internalised the contradictions of being black, of having an African origin and of living in a Creole synthesised culture with its many African elements, while at the same time believing much of the white propaganda which declares that to be black is to be inferior and that all things African are primative.37 Nor surprisingly, many black people in the English speaking Caribbean endure a largely unresolved question of identity

created by the tensions between two cultures and value systems. They live with a black self-image but a white ego-ideal. This is also true of many black Christians in Britain who migrated from the West Indies. The overwhelmingly racist and hostile population which they encountered in Britain confirmed the ascribed inferiority of all things black and mocked the attempts of black immigrants to emulate British culture or speak English. In Rogerian terms we may speak of black people being forced to suffer two kinds of incongruence. One between their **self** and their **ideal-self**, and the other between their **self** and the way they have been responded to by white society. Black people in the English speaking Caribbean have largely internalised a white middle-class **ideal-self** which can never be attained and which is alien to their true **self**. In Britain, white society's reaction to black people was - and often still is - a direct assault on their sense of worth.38

In spite of Government legislation which has made some of the more obvious forms of racial discrimination illegal, black people in Britain continue to live in a fundamentally racist society which perpetuates the contradictions of being black in colour and culture, yet accepting the values of a white society which denigrates blackness. To resolve this tension some black people, like the Rastafarians, have developed a black consciousness which rejects all things white as part of "Babylon", while others have sought to

identify with the indigenous white culture. This appears to be particularly true of a sizeable minority of black British-born adolescents who have a positive self-image but hold negative views of their home and parents. There is evidence which suggests that some black young people and children in Britain have a strong desire to reject their ethnic identity and be 'white' in every aspect of their lives short of pigmentation; and a few even reject their skin, hair and eye colour.[39] Hair relaxing (straightening) and the use of "bleaching creams" on the face are common. Such is the continuing damage done to black peoples' identity by a nation with such appalling racial arrogance.

While many of the first generation manifest their internalisation of oppressive ideology by reacting strongly against the idea of Jamaican culture being influenced by West Africa, they do accept that culture as valuable and worthy of being retained. On the other hand, middle-class or upwardly mobile members of the first generation - who if they attend anywhere are more likely to go to the so called "mainstream denominations" - are generally more aculturated. There is also a close correlation between retention of Jamaican culture and language in worship and the freedom of the organisation from white control or influence on the one hand; and, on the other, the cultural ambivalence found in the organisations with white parent bodies in the United States (or white American bishops sent from headquarters to oversee black British congregations).

Thus the black-led Oneness organisations generally have the strongest sense of positive black cultural identity because they have most fully sacralised Jamaican culture, language, liturgical motor behaviour and dance, and have a 'black' ecclesiastical identity which is not dependent on the approval of a white headquarters or of other Christian bodies. The autonomous Church of God congregations, which have broken away from white domination, demonstrate a similar though generally less pronounced sense of black cultural and ecclesiastical identity, while the Church of God bodies linked to white headquarters in the United States tend to be culturally, liturgically and ideationally the most ambivalent. Thus for first generation black proletarian Pentecostals, a sense of positive black cultural identity is often related to the amount of white influence and black autonomy in each organisation.

For the second generation, socialised into the norms and values of both their 'Jamaican' homes and churches, and the dominant culture, their is often - though not invariably - a correlation between cultural identity and the perspective from which they view the congregation and their involvement in it. While all second generation Pentecostals are bi-cultural and can 'talk black' or 'talk white' as the occasion demands, the **Conformists** tend to be the most 'Jamaican', the least critical of their parents' culturally defined worship style (particularly language and motor

behaviour) and the most uneasy about the idea of their West African roots. The **Respectables** conform to what they believe to be the expectations of white society and, like the **Young Radicals** are critical of much of their parents' culturally defined liturgy. Unlike the **Young Radicals** however, these criticisms are not so much based on mature reflection as they are on embarrassment at what they perceive as their elders lack of education, self control and decorum: their lack of conformity to white norms and standards of behaviour. While this type do identify themselves as black, they are concerned to appear respectable by defining blackness as very similar to the dominant culture. The **Young Radicals** are, in the main, constructing a new bi-cultural identity which takes seriously and attempts to synthesise both their African roots, their Jamaican heritage and their British socialisation and education. But this construction is a painful process caught up as they are in the push, pull and clash of two cultures and two value systems. The **Rebels** more often place a major emphasis on their blackness and 'African' identity and are more likely to be influenced by American Black Power or Jamaican Rastafarian concepts. These, we must remember, are ideal types with second generation Pentecostals often falling between these categories and, with human inconsistency, adopting self-contradictory positions. Differing identities and perceptions have led to some intra-generational and, more pronounced inter-generational conflicts, most notably

between the (majority) first and (minority) second generation Conformists on the one hand, and the second generation Respectables and Radicals (with some restrained support from the first generation Silent Radicals) on the other. Thus, the generation gap is widened and conflicts exacerbated by the cultural identities of the second generation which, for the majority, are different from those of the first.

The positive self-image which, for many of the first generation, was so dependent on having their identity and worth affirmed, confirmed and reinforced by the congregation, is less important for many of the second generation who have achieved some upward social and economic mobility and the prestige of higher status occupations. While a much higher proportion of black-British are unemployed than whites, the members of Pentecostal congregations are less likely to be out of work than their secular fellows. For the second generation the ties with the congregation, which were so important for the identity, personal value and sense of worth of the first generation, have been substantially weakened.

c. EMPOWERING, SELF-DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

In West Africa, primal religion had a great deal to do with maintaining relationships with the spiritual and the divine in order to ensure that both the individual and the community were drawing upon the **Anima Mundi.** As the

wellbeing of both individual and society was perceived as dependent on this power, a primary function of religion was to keep people attuned to this **Force Vitale**. In New World slavery, the powerless Africans came together in worshipping communities to seek for and to experience the psychologically liberating power of the Spirit and to crave the help of the God of the oppressed who "sets the captive free". After emancipation, both in the United States and the Caribbean, the vast majority of black people found themselves consistently pushed to the bottom of the socio-economic pile. The secular avenues of power were largely closed to them, so the black religionists, gathered in worshipping communities, continued to attune their minds, emotions and bodies to the divine and to experience the power of the Spirit. For the first generation of settlers from Jamaica - and to a lesser extent their British-born children - the avenues of secular power remain, if not closed, at least less accessible to them as a result of racism and discrimination. Thus, access to spiritual power may be seen as a compensation for a perceived and real lack of social, economic and political power. But this is more than merely an other-worldly escapism from often valid feelings of impotence. For Seymour and the early Pentecostals at the Azusa Street Mission, the baptism of the Holy Spirit was understood as the power which would elicit social change by eradicating the colour line in the Church, and by bring all nations to one faith and one fellowship without racial segregation.

For a few years at least, this dream became a reality. Nor were Seymour and the early Pentecostals a-typical. For many other black religionists the utilisation of the power of the Spirit was seen as a means of attaining secular power. A great deal of black religion was 'this-worldly' in its application of 'other-worldly' power. While some groups concentrated on the world to come as a compensation for a lack of secular power, others, with their integrated world view and inaugurated eschatology, brought pneumatic puissance to bear on contemporary problems in this world.[40]

Similarly, the black Pentecostal congregations in Wolverhampton and throughout Britain continue to echo these power leitmotive. They perceive themselves as pneumatic communities which are interacting with the supernatural in such a way as to bring the power of the divine to bear on problems which are beyond their human capacity to deal with.

> Let the Spirit move;
> Let the Spirit move;
> By brother and sister,
> Let the Spirit move.
> When things go wrong,
> And the way seems dark,
> Get on your knees and let the Spirit move.[41]

The power of the Spirit, in the words of Theo Witvliet, "makes non-persons the subjects of their own history."[42] People become and remain powerless, not only as a result of oppression but also because they feel themselves to be powerless. The black Pentecostal believes that "prayer changes things"; that God is able to intervene on her behalf, both directly and by influencing or using other

people to help her. Her testimonies and songs witness to the fact that she is neither disappointed nor fatalistic.

The United Church of God sing:

> God is a good God, yes he is;
> God is a good God, yes he is.
> Picked me up, turned me round
> Plant my feet on higher ground.
> God is a good God, yes he is.

And others echo the same theme:

> Blessed Jesus, hold my hand;
> Yes, I need Thee ev'ry hour;
> Through this land, this pilgrim land,
> Protect me by Thy saving power;
> Hear my plee, my feeble plee;
> Lord, dear Lord look down on me;
> When I kneel I hope to meet you there,
> Blessed Jesus hold my hand.[43]
>
> Have a little talk with Jesus;
> Tell Him all about our trouble;
> He will hear our faintest cry,
> And He will answer by and by;
> Now when you feel a little prayer wheel turning,
> Then you'll know a little fire is burning;
> You will find a little talk with Jesus makes it right.[44]

This divine aid and power is also experienced in pneumatic encounter: Spirit baptism and the "Spirit moving" on a person during worship and inspiring them to glossolalia, dance, jerk, shout and so on. In dreams and visions the first generation encounter this power as mystical experiences. James Cone, writing of the (Negro) Spirituals in the United States, points out that,

> there is a deeper level of experience which transcends the tools of 'objective' historical research. And that experience is available only to those who share the **spirit** and participate in the **faith** of the people who created these songs. I am referring to the power and energy released in black devotion to the God of emotion.[45]

In Britain also, the black Pentecostal use of music, rhythm and song is one of the most important elements in worship which empowers both the community and the individual. Worshippers leave the services on a Sunday night with hope in their hearts, a spring in their step and a sense of having been renewed by their encounter with God to face the world afresh. While, for most of the first generation, this was the power to survive, for many of the second, it is the power to go forward, to succeed, and even to excel, not only in the congregation but in secular pursuits.

> Don't you know I'm moving up the King's highway;
> Up the King's highway.
> Don't you know I'm trusting in amazing grace;
> In amazing grace.
> Although Satan is on my track,
> I will never, never, never look back;
> For I'm moving up, moving up, moving up, O Lord.[46]

Many of the second generation are "moving up" socio-economically as well as spiritually as a direct result of their upbringing in, and involvement with, a black Pentecostal congregation. Paul Boateng, black barrister, Labour MP and Methodist lay preacher, expressed it well when he said:

> The black churches are a means of salvation, a mechanism for survival. The important thing about the black churches now is that they present and that they provide a means of going forward. They contain a sense of hope and optimism that effects every part of a person's life: their political life, their personal life, their spiritual life.[47]

The black Pentecostal congregation provides the power to survive and to succeed in the secular world. William Wedenoja (1980), writing of the functions of Pentecostalism in Jamaica, states that:

> Pentecostalism encourages the development of psychological traits and patterns of behaviour conducive to success in a capitalist economy, including deferral of gratification, thrift and conscientious labor and exchange. Self-denial is a virtue in Pentecostalism, which condemns popular entertainment, fashionable clothes, jewelery and other forms of conspicuous consumption. Self-discipline is enforced by a stringent moral code which prohibits such behaviors as promiscuity, illegitimacy, concubinage, drunkeness, violence and religious "backsliding".[48]

The inherited ideology of the white North American Pentecostals, for all its rejection of "the world" and immediate eschatological hope, was primarily functional (Durkheim) in that it discouraged the anti-social and self-destructive tendencies engendered among the anomic poor, integrated them into the wider society and encouraged them to be part of the docile labour force. The values and taboos (against alcohol, tabacco, gambling, entertainment etc.) of Pentecostalism were functional in helping new immigrants to establish themselves and even to prosper in a climate of racism. The ideology of Pentecostalism - which we will discuss later - helped to ensure that they were a conscientious, industrious and politically docile pool of labour. Their thrift, self-denial (perceived as denial of "the world") and sexual morality helped to make them more secure economically, and ensured that - like the white sects before them - the second generation were reared in an environment conducive to promoting upward social and economic mobility. The congregation provides a structure and an ethos in which young black people can succeed, grow in self confidence and become economically and socially

mobile. Boateng stresses that:

> The youth are crying out for a context in which to lead their lives. They're crying out for some guidelines: for some truths, and the church is providing a context (yes, there can be rigour; there is discipline) in answering that need. And its only with rigour and discipline that, in fact, you go forward. The idea that you can have some sort of wishy washy, let anything happen, let anything go, type approach to life and actually get anywhere, and actually develop, either as an individual or as a community, is false.[49]

The discipline imposed by the Pentecostal congregation, the traits and behaviour patterns outlined by Wedenoja, the Protestant work ethic and the way in which the congregation functions as a milieu for young people to develop leadership skills, oral communication skills, musical skills, self confidence and, increasingly, administrative skills, combine to produce a higher proportion of upwardly mobile people than in the wider black population (and many of the black leaders of the future). Even the theological anti-intellectualism of most of the first generation does not extend to other academic disciplines except when they obviously conflict with the Pentecostal world view, ethos or cosmogony. Otherwise, education is often seen as a key to upward mobility with some black Pentecostal congregations providing extra tuition, not only to make up for deficiencies in the schools and the negative stereotypes held by some white teachers, but also to positively encourage educational success.

The black Pentecostal worshipping community also functions as a milieu for the development of the right hemisphere of

the brain which is particularly important for people who will excel, not only as poets, musicians, dancers and designers but also as entrepreneurs and business executives.[50] Evidence from experiments with epileptics who had the corpus callosum severed, and from normal individuals, reveals that the left cerebral cortex deals with language, writing, mathematics, analysis and logical reasoning, while the right hemisphere deals with art, music, dance, perception, fantasy, dreams, symbols, gestures and insight.[51] The right hemisphere is primarily the centre of the unconscious which only achieves a degree of consciousness as a result of communication with the left hemisphere across the corpus callosum.[52] In the majority of people the dominance of the left hemisphere is such that the insight and creativity of the right hemisphere is underdeveloped. Most socialisation and education in Britain deals primarily with the left hemisphere at the expense of the right. The black worshipping community, however, creates an environment in which the right hemisphere is stimulated and developed; and in which many of the products of the right hemisphere are accorded greater value and respect. In fact - as we will see in the next chapter - virtually everything which is of fundamental importance in black Pentecostalism is associated with the right hemisphere of the brain and the unconscious regions of the mind. At this juncture, however, it is sufficient to point out that within the Pentecostal congregation the likelihood of socio-economic success by the second

generation is enhanced by the development of right hemisphere functioning which is associated with artistry, creativity and originality.53

While Wedenoja's description of values and behaviours is entirely applicable to the first generation in Britain, and is close to those of the second, the condemnation of fashionable clothes has ceased with the second generation for whom (with the exception of some of the young radicals) being immaculately dressed is a reinforcement of positive self-image, often motivated by a desire to look respectable but rationalised and justified as looking ones best for God.54 The stress on looking respectable (and attractive) is, for the respectables, to some degree an outworking of their internalisation of white concepts of beauty. While most of the first generation condemned hair treatments in the past, many women of the second generation have their hair relaxed (straightened) to conform to European ideals. While this is an invidious assault on their own **self**, it does result in an appearance which, coupled with immaculate clothing and good verbal skills, may assist them in obtaining employment and progressing in white dominated social and economic structures.

Evidence of upward social and economic mobility is to be found among all second generation types to the extent that this also exacerbates the generation gap which threatens to become a class distinction. This is particularly true of

the respectables who already have a tendency to dissociate themselves to some extent from the first generation. Thus for the second generation, advance in the secular world is often a by-product of their upbringing and involvement with the Pentecostals congregation.

> I'm bound, I'm bound for higher ground;
> I'm seeking a golden crown;
> Can't remain in ordinary plain;
> I'm bound for higher ground.[55]

As Boateng says,

> we see in the black-led churches... the means not only of salvation in the next world, but survival and advance in this, and its the integration of the two... that's ocurred particularly over the last five to ten years that is so important and that offers the black community so much in terms of it's own development: in terms of it's own enrichment.[56]

Not only have young black Pentecostals, been saved to inherit the world to come, they have also been empowered to rise above the disadvantages imposed by racism in this world.

> Lift me up above the shadows;
> Lift me up and let me stand,
> On the mountain top of glory;
> Let me dwell in Beulah Land.[57]

Economic success, however, has its dangers. In particular, it threatens to undermine not only inter-generational solidarity but also the intra-generational black Pentecostal sense of community and corporate identity. For the occupationally and financially successful members of the second generation there is a very real risk that the working philosophy of "**we participate** therefore **we are, we share** therefore **we are, we love** and serve therefore **we are**" will be replaced with "**to have** is **to be,** or **to consume** is

to be, or to produce is to be".[58]

d. FAITH, HOPE AND FORGIVENESS

Jesus is coming soon,
Morning or night or noon;
Many will meet their doom;
Trumpet will sound!
All of the dead shall rise;
Righteous meet in the skies;
Going were no one dies;
Heavenward bound!

So sang the first generation as they expressed their faith and hope that things will be "better by and by." It may be argued that the adventism of black Pentecostals - and indeed of all Pentecostals in Britain - is a product of their underclass status: the have-nots longing for the arrival of a kingdom where they will be exalted and those who oppress them punished. Such an eschatological hope may be an other-worldly escape from reality; a wish for the reversal of all those things which oppress some and exalt others. To accept this argument is, however, to recognise that people in oppressive circumstances are capable of a revolutionary imagination: a belief that things can be different. While the 'orthodox' position of most white Pentecostals is confined to the idea of a millenial kingdom to be brought in at the parousia, black Pentecostals have an inaugurated eschatology which throws a bridge across the gulf between negative present and positive future. Thus the future is reached out for and brought theologically into the present. Furthermore, this inaugurated eschatology is a potential basis for believing that

ideological, social, political and economic change is possible **before** the eschaton.

This possibility is something the young radicals are currently beginning to reflect upon, but even for the first generation, most of whom have not grasped the implications of their inaugurated eschatology for the "world" of the present, there is an immediacy about their perception of change. The eschaton is imminent. The Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit fulfils the prophecy of Joel (Joel 2:28-32; Acts 2:16-21), the last days have begun and a new heaven and new earth are about to appear. Here is an antidote to despair, hopelessness and depression. Faith, hope, the corporate courage both to **be** and to be themselves, anticipatory joy and optimism for a better tomorrow are confirmed by the foretaste of the future which is experienced in the worshipping community, and if Jesus calls them "home" in death before he comes again then even the awfulness of death is transformed by faith and hope:

> Oh when I come to the end of my journey,
> Weary of life and the battle is done,
> Carrying the staff and the cross of redemption,
> He'll understand and say, Well done.
>
> Some glad morning when this life is o'er,
> I'll fly away;
> To a home on God's celestial shore;
> I'll fly away.
> I'll fly away, Oh glory;
> I'll fly away.
> When I die, Hallelujah, by and by,
> I'll fly away.[59]

Thus everything in life, and even death itself, is transformed by faith and hope in the One who is real and

revealed to them in the worshipping community. The young people of the United Church of God summarise this in song:

> Sometimes up;
> Sometimes down;
> Sometimes level with the ground,
> But I'm go'n' to hold on to my faith,
> 'Cos I don't believe He brought me this far to leave me.60

One of the most notable functions of the black congregation is that it saves the Pentecostal, not only from despair and depression, but also from hatred and bitterness. People who came to Britain with the expectations of being welcome, accepted and becoming prosperous in a Christian country, were ignored, rejected, impelled into the worst of jobs, made scapegoats for the ills of society and the targets of racial abuse in a country with falling church attendance and increasing secularisation. Yet in spite of their mis-treatment at the hands of whites - including many white Christians - they have been able to forgive and even to show love to those who have damaged them. Botang stresses that:

> The black churches and black Christians have actively sought not to allow themselves to be scared by the experience of racism. Christ is a balm. Christ is a healer. That isn't to say that racism hasn't touched the black-led churches because you have to look at the whole history and experience of how these churches came into being: very often because black people were cold shouldered, literally, in the mainstream of the church.61

In the words of one of the black pastors in Wolverhampton:

> We must try to forget the past. We are living right now well up in the 80s and if we start to remember things that happened in the 60s and to hold that or use that as a gulf between us then we are going to reach nowhere whatsoever. So we must forget the 60s

> because we know, 60s,70s, there's a great change both in attitude, in culture, in racialism, in every aspect we find there's a good difference. Now things are getting on much better; better relationships. So we cannot judge one another because we hurt in the past. Just forget that. If Christ should hold the same attitude against us we all be down there [in hell]. I'm looking for brighter days. A future where the church will be just the Church of God.[62]

The concern which black Pentecostals have for the "unsaved" is expressed in "witnessing" not only to blacks but also to whites. The Church universal - of which they perceive themselves to be a part (the Church of God of Prophecy and the Midlands section of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World excepted) - is for all regardless of race or colour.

> This salvation is for the rich and for the poor; for the black and for the white... Jude [Jude 3] tells us it is a **common** salvation, [exhorts a middle-aged "missionary"].
> Jesus died for all; not only the black; the white also; the Indian also; the Chinaman also; the half-cast also [declares another "sister"].[63]

Again and again the universality of God's salvation is stressed, and because "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son" (John 3:16), black Pentecostals must also love those who are not yet saved.

> This salvation, whether for black or Indian is for all nations... whether it be black or white or pink or yellow.[64]

> God does not call the black alone, he calls his elect from every nation.[65]

> Not just the black but everyone. We should knock the white door; we should knock the Indian door; for God has called us from every tribe and nation.[66]

> When you go to heaven there will be no segregation. If God so loved us, we ought to love one another... If we do not love one another we are none of His.[67]

No colour bar in God

How beautiful that sounds
No racial hatred showing
Where the love of God abounds
No hating between nations
Until that all that's left within
Is a twisted hating heart
Filled with the ugliness of sin.

No colour bar in Jesus
He loves us everyone
No matter what our colour
Or the deeds that we have done
He brings us all together
In one big family
And the same blessings that He gives you
Can be showered down on me

There is no best where God's concerned
We're equal everyone
We all are saved by grace
Through the death of His dear son
We're brothers and we're sisters
Who live in harmony
No colour bar between us
And that's the way that it should be.[68]

This poem, written by a member of the Church of God of Prophecy in Slough, is however, rather more than a mere statement of God's racial impartiality and the brotherhood of man. It also reflects a sublimated protest against the unwillingness of this particular organisation to discuss honestly and openly the racism in it's own structures. Among both first and second generation there is a repressed groundswell of anger that the issues of racism in their own organisation have not been dealt with. Members speak of congregations in the United States being segregated so that in some areas there are all-black and all-white congregations located within a few blocks of each other. Nor are these members blind to the parallels with South Africa. The major hurt is caused, however, no so much by the situation but by some of the black pastors' refusal

even to allow their congregations to discuss it. These leaders clearly feel threatened. They know that what is happening is indefensible but they fear being called to task by their white "overseers" and thus jeopardising their position. Those with the most to lose are the most reactionary. While there is little or no bitterness over racial issues in the black-led organisations because of the open discussion and cathartic externalisation which takes place, sections of the Church of God of Prophecy stand out as glaring exceptions.

e. THERAPY

The black Pentecostal congregation is a therapeutic community with psycho-hygenic, cathartic, stress reducing and health promoting functions. In particular, rhythm, audition and touch appear to have significant therapeutic significance. Both auditory and tactile senses ontogenetically precede the development of visual sense; and while Western Christianity has elevated the visual above the auditory - the written text above the spoken word - and effectively outlawed tactual pleasure; the black Pentecostals have incorporated both into their holistic worship.

The black Pentecostal congregation at worship provides an outlet for the sublimated expression of repressed desires and is a milieu in which emotional release from the frustrations which result from being at the bottom of the

social pile and the focus of prejudice, racism and discrimination, can take place. It is also an environment where such release and expression is treated not only as socially acceptable but is considered positively laudable and interpreted as evidence of considerable spirituality. Those who are unable to express or assert themselves in the secular world can do so in unrestrained worship. Here, metaphorically, the dumb speak and the lame dance as people are set free from their inhibitions.

In worship the black Pentecostal gets in touch with unconscious areas of the mind. Repressed emotional tensions and the instinctive drives of the **id** (Freud) or **shadow** (Jung) are initially exacerbated until they burst forth in cathartic liberation as the worshipper shouts, talks in tongues, jerks, dances and, on occasions, experiences a radically altered state of consciousness. This build up and subsequent release of tension is primarily brought about by the extensive use of polyrythmic singing and music, participative antiphonal involvement in testifying and praying and the oratorical power of the "preaching of the word".

Rythmic drumming, clapping, stamping and singing which is so characteristic of black Pentecostal worship, often have profound effects on the central nervous system. Andrew Neher has pointed out that because a single drum beat contains many frequencies, and these frequencies are

transmitted along different pathways, large auditory areas of the brain can be stimulated simultaneously.[69] In addition, the rhythmic 'whole body' motions of the worshippers - hand clapping, foot tapping and body swaying - mean that the motor and body-sense areas of the cortex are also being simultaneously stimulated, and complex interconnections result in the indirect stimulation of other areas. Furthermore, because drum beats contain many low frequencies which can be received at high amplitudes without pain or ear damage, more energy can be transmitted to the brain than at higher frequencies.[70] Thus in those congregations which use drums, cortical stimulation can be greatly increased. In laboratory tests involving photic driving - the stimulation of sensory and motor areas of the brain by means of a bright rhythmic flashing light - and auditory driving - similar stimulation by means of rhythmic sound - effects were produced in the electrical activity of the brain, unusual perceptions reported and muscle twitching observed. Brain wave frequencies range from around eight to thirteen cycles per second although, as Neher points out, "slightly lower frequencies may be most effective for sound stimulation, due to the presence of low frequencies (theta rhythms) in the auditory region of the cortex."[71] Not surprisingly, studies of drum rhythms which produce heightened emotional responses, altered states of consciousness, trances, cataleptic fits, hallucinations, convulsions and unusual subjective feelings occur at frequencies between seven and nine cycles per second. In

one study, "it was found that the emotional response was greatest at the point of highest driving."[72] This is true of the use of drumming and rhythm in black Pentecostal worship which generally starts slowly but often accelerates and rises in volume as a particular song progresses. This increase in tempo is also evident as the service itself proceeds, often building up to a crescendo of antiphonal and motor behaviour near the end of the worship during which cathartic release reaches a corporate climax which is understood theologically as the "moving" of the Holy Spirit.

Susceptibility to rhythmic stimulation is heightened by combining different rhythms - handclapping, foot-tapping, tambourine playing - which accompany the main rhythm and the simultaneous rhythmic stimulation of other senses - tactual and kinetic - by means of dancing, jerking and other motor behaviour. Furthermore, energetic motor behaviour also increases the possibility of hyperventilation which results in increased adrenalin production.[73] This in turn leads to high autonomic emotional arousal which, while open to a variety of subjective interpretations, is experienced as a physical (whole body) feeling. The interpretation, once again, is that the Spirit is "moving".

> Call: I feel the Spirit moving.
> Response: That's all right![74]

Studies of rhythmic stimulation reveal that most normal

subjects experience unusual subjective feelings. Some, may be epileptics or possibility hysterics, but G A Ulett also found normal subjects who were particularly susceptible to rhythmic stimulation and thus are more prone to experience hallucinatory and dissociative states, myoclonic twitching and generalised convulsion.75 The black Pentecostal congregations which I have observed at worship all experience emotional arousal and subjective feelings which they credit to the presence and activity of the Spirit. Only in the most autonomous of the black congregations however - which include the majority of Oneness Pentecostals - is myoclonic twitching common, and convulsions and altered states of consciousness regularly experienced by at least a few of the worshippers. Significantly, it is in these congregations that drumming is most often strident. In some instances when the singing has ended the drumming continues as worshippers jerk, shout, dance and experience various degrees of dissociation. Some dance, oblivious to their surroundings, while others fall to the floor and convulse. More commonly, people just "feel good", "feel free", "feel the Spirit", shout and jerk. Such behaviours and experiences are interpreted as "letting the Spirit have His way". The worshippers experience not only physiological arousal, but a powerful sense of psychological liberation. Inhibitions are overcome and the emotional tension which has been built up is released in an explosive outburst which includes the cathartic - if often sublimated - release of repressed

frustrations and desires.

This build up of emotional tension and its therapeutic release in cathartic liberation is not however brought about merely by the effects of rhythm on the cerebral cortex. Rhythm is but one aspect of the complex matrix of black liturgical creativity, artistry and expression which defies a purely rationalistic or particularistic assessment. One of the more obvious contributory factors which is amenable to some analysis is the role and function of the black Pentecostal preacher who has the oratorical power to lift his congregation (particularly the first generation) to heights of ecstasy or reduce them to uncontrollable frenzy. This is particularly true of congregations which are not answerable to white headquarters. The black sermon, rich in imagery, communicates at the unconscious as well as at the conscious levels of the mind. Stories and archetypal symbols - the language of the unconscious - abound and people are deeply affected, responding with verbal ejaculations and sometimes myoclonic twitching and jerking.

The mysticism of sound is all pervasive in Pentecostal worship. It is sound which helps to create and perpetuate a powerful sense of community. Congregational singing, simultaneous praying, glossolalia and the vocal participation of the listeners in the sermon are the very essence of black Pentecostal worship. Jesus was an

itinerant speaker and story teller. His message and his person were inexorably tied to the spoken word, not texts. "Spoken words," writes Werner Kelber,

> breathe life, drawing their strength from sound. They carry a sense of presence, intensity, and instantaneousness that writing fails to convey... Moreover, sounded words emanate from one person and resonate in another, moving along the flow and ebb of human life. They address hearers directly and engage them personally in a manner unattainable by the written medium...
> As is well known by most ancient cultures, living words, especially those uttered by charismatic speakers, are the carriers of power and being... It lies in the nature of written language that it can be abstracted from its signification. Spoken words are not visible apart from their signifiers... when sounded words are thus known to be effective in the act of speaking, it takes but one small step to regard them "as being of the same order of reality as the matters and events to which they refer."76 In addition, oral language is always personalized. Speaker and hearers together create situations wherein words come into being. Spoken words, therefore, can produce the actuality of what they refer to in the midst of people. Language and being, speaker and words are joined together into a kind of unity.77

This powerful integrative or "binding quality" of orality is referred to by Kelber and others as **oral synthesis.** Nowhere is this oral synthesis more evident than in black Pentecostal worship. The unbearable feelings of aloneness, powerlessness and lack of belonging are transformed as black Pentecostals create a cathedral of sound in which they are united with God and each other.

That glossolalia has retained its importance among Pentecostals is not surprising since it has for them not only an eschatological meaning but experiental and evidential significance. For Pentecostals, glossolalia is

primarily an **experience** of the divine:

> I like to feel the Spirit of God moving over me;
> It's a feeling that starts at the top of my head,
> And goes down to the souls of my feet;
> And there's no other feeling in this whole wide world,
> Just like the Spirit of God.
> I like to feel like I feel when I'm feeling like I feel right now.

It is a personal subjective encounter with God which relieves tension, removes inhibitions and stimulates the emotions, sometimes to the point of apparent intoxication: a phenomenon which Pentecostals are able to relate to part of the biblical account of the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:12-16). Through glossolalia, the Pentecostal expresses his inner needs and subconscious longings to God. He possesses or is possessed by the Holy Spirit: a power which transcends and transforms personal feelings of insignificance.

> Spirit of the Living God fall afresh on me;
> Break me, melt me, mould me, fill me;
> Spirit of the Living God, fall afresh on me.

The release of emotional tension and the experience of liberation from mental oppression is often related, by the Pentecostal, to the promise of rest and refreshing given in Isaiah 28:11 and 12. Here the prophet is recorded as saying:

> For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people... This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest; and this is the refreshing" (KJV).

That modern scholarship fails to confirm this exposition is completely irrelevant to the Pentecostal. The experience has primacy and the citing of texts is simply a means of

appealing to biblical support.

The baptism of the Holy Spirit is also understood as evidence of the reality of God and the truth of the Bible. Donald Gee wrote: "The ultimate and full purpose of spiritual gifts are thus revealed. They are to bring men face to face with the reality of the Invisible God..." 78. The Pentecostal is not alone in a random universe. God is real. God is present. And the black Pentecostal is neither powerless nor insignificant but a "child of the King". In glossolalia, hopes and fears, euphoria and concern, desires and thanksgiving, in fact deep emotions of every kind, can be expressed without the conscious mind being burdened by the need to articulate - which many find difficult - or the need to reveal repressed material which the individual and the congregation would probably find disturbing and unacceptable.79 In short, glossolalia is, among other things, a means of confirming the realities of the divine and one's status as a child of God, of expressing the inexpressible and of cathartic liberation.80 Paul wrote:

> if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays but my mind is unfruitful (1 Cor.13:14).

For many, their first glossolalic experience is a crisis of permanently life transforming significance which is associated with mental and moral healing. Glossolalia, the recounting of dreams and other activities which integrate the material and spiritual; the conscious and unconscious, may also bring about physical as well as mental

wholeness.[81] More will be said concerning this when we examine the nature of phsycological integration in black Pentecostalism.

There is no evidence for the popular myth that glossolalics are either schizophrenic or more likely to suffer from some other form of psychopathology.[82] The invasion of the unconscious seldom overwhelms the ego in cases of tongue speaking, on the contrary, glossolalia appears to relieve neurosis and promote psychological well-being.[83] To yield conscious control so that "other tongues" may sound forth is no more pathological than yielding oneself to sleep during which the images of dreams arise involuntarily from the unconscious. When conscious vocal control is re-established after an episode of glossolalia or a dream ceases by a return to the waking state, the glossolalic is no more damaged by the experience than is the sleeper. Both may have encountered expressions of the unconscious and sometimes of the collective unconscious through which God can communicate.[84] H Newton Malony has been directing research into glossolalia at Fuller Theological Seminary's Graduate School of Psychology since 1971 and concludes that:

> Persons who speak in tongues do not appear to be mentally unhealthy either before or after the experience.[85]

While the medical profession – with a few exceptions – concentrates on the somatic aspects of human beings and

even attempts in psychiatry to treat the psyche biochemically and physiologically, the black Pentecostals, like their African ancestors and the Hebrews, approach man holistically with an integrated perception of **pneuma, psyche** and **soma.** A few of the older first generation, like many early Pentecostals, continue to have grave misgivings concerning the use of medicine and the medical profession. However a large proportion of younger women in the first generation, and many in the second, work in the health service and are committed to its aims while aware of its inability to bring healing to the whole person. While physicians are often blind to the relationship between, on the one hand, physical, emotional and mental well being, and spiritual values on the other, and even the very existance of the latter, the black Pentecostal perceives a causal relationship between a spiritual lack of wholeness, mental problems and physical illness. In post-Freudian psychoanalytic terms we may speak of the health and wholeness promoting bonding of the individual with his **Imago Dei:** the fulfilment of the innate human-metaphysical drive for relationship with the transcendent[86] which the black Pentecostals call "getting right with God". The mutual interdependency between mental and spiritual health has been well summarised by Hugh Sanborn in his **Models of Mento-Spiritual Health**[87], and the nature of the phsyco-somatic relationship in physical illness hardly requires elaboration.

For the black Pentecostal worshipping communities, touch is an important expression of belonging and mutual care. Handshaking and clasping, hugging, "feet washing", annointing with oil and "laying on of hands" for healing, deliverance and the reception of the Holy Spirit are common. Touch, as one of the proximity senses (ie touch, taste and smell), has an ontogenetical primacy in human beings. Every human baby attempts to make sense of the world by means of touch before using sight. However, in individualistic Western society there are strict limits and even taboos against touching which have resulted in the neglect of this sense. Ashley Montagu writes that:

> the taboos on interpersonal tactuality grow out of a fear closely associated with the Christian tradition in its various denominations, the fear of bodily pleasures. Two of the great negative achievements of Christianity have been to make a sin of tactual pleasures, and by the repression of sex to make it an obsession.[88]

The association of touch with sexuality has resulted in the severe restriction of the former in Western society. The black Pentecostals, while not immune to these restrictions, have been able to justify their use of touch by reference to the Bible, and thus provide yet another therapeutic channel. Montagu writes that:

> Supplying the need [for touch], even in adults may serve to give them the reassurance they need, the conviction that they are wanted and valued, and thus involved and included in a connected network of values with others.[89]

But there is also a direct relationship between touch and the prevention or cure of organic disease. There is already considerable evidence that touch helps to alleviate

stress which, if prolonged, can produce cardiovascular and other organic damage as a result of the adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH) secreted by the pituitary gland acting upon the cortex of the adrenal gland to produce cortisone. Touch reduces the output of ACTH in alarming situations by bringing about a change in hypothalmic functioning.[90] Touching may also alleviate asthma and breathing difficulties, [91] speed up the healing of wounds, [92] increase the production of haemoglobin,[93] relieve pain[94], speed up and ease childbirth,[95] reduce stress in premature infants,[96] and bring about or promote healing in areas for which, as yet, little or no empirical research has been undertaken. Yet laying on of hands was practised by Greek physicians and Indian yogis 2,500 years ago, by Christians 2,000 years ago, and has been used since the 1960s as "therapeutic touch" by nurses influenced by the works of Martha Rogers [97] and Delores Krieger.[98] The Pentecostals have been laying on hands since the birth of the movement in 1906.

Grad, Smith and Krieger have proposed the theory that energy fields surround all living things[99] including humans.[100] During illness this field is depleted but can be restored by a transfer of energy through laying on of hands. Gwenn Wyatt and Sharon Rimmer summarise this process in a nursing context:

> The practitioner concentrates on drawing energy from the environment and directing it to the depleted areas of the patient's field. The practitioner

> imagines energy entering her body, usually through the head. This conscious intent of energy flow is then directed to the patient's field through the practitioner's hands. By acting as a channel, the practitioner does not tire during the treatment, since there is no depletion of personal energy. In fact, the practitioner often feels revitalized after providing a treatment.101

The Pentecostals believe that this environmental energy field is the power of the Holy Spirit which flows through the minister to the sick person as he lays on hands and, or anoints with oil while praying for the individual. The ancestors of these black Pentecostals, who practised the primal religions of West Africa, also believed that sickness was the result of a depletion of the person's life force which could only be replenished by tapping into the cosmic **force vitale.**102

But is there actually a transfer of energy? Does anything happen as a result of the laying on of hands which cannot be accounted for simply in terms of the pleasure of human physical contact and a 'Hawthorne effect'?103 In 1984, Janet F Quinn conducted a series of experiments to test the hypothesis that "the effects of therapeutic touch are the result of an energy exchange" rather than simply a result of physical contact.104 While her results do not provide incontrovertible evidence of such an energy exchange, they do suggest that something other than physical contact, the Hawthorne effect or the placebo effect is causing a health promoting change in patients. The Pentecostals, of course, say that this is the Holy Spirit but Western Christians in

general will have to take the pneumatology of the Old Testament more seriously and perhaps question the exclusivism of the Filioque clause if they are going to credit the Holy Spirit with working through health providers who do "not have any particular religious affiliation."[105]

One key factor, if the laying on of hands is to be effective, appears to be the belief of the practitioner - Pentecostal pastor, nurse or psychic healer - that the patient will be helped by this intervention. Faith, which Pentecostals stress is essential to healing (cf James 5:14,15) has now been identified by secular researchers as a crucial factor.[106]

Even without the laying on of hands there are numerous accounts of healing in black Pentecostal services. While the majority who seek divine healing are not cured without medical assistance or instantaneously, a few healings are both immediate and dramatic. One young black pastor gave me the following account:

> A guy at national convention, this very year, he came down, he was a cripple - he wasn't saved. His mother was always encouraging him about the Lord but.... to him, this was his last resort: well I might as well go and see what happens. And he threw away his crutches and was walking around praising God. And a dumb girl spake as soon as she knelt down, and they hadn't even come to lay hands on her, or even start to pray for her. She just started to worship God, and she began to shout out to God. So miracles are still happening![107]

Furthermore, the whole lifestyle of the black Pentecostals

tends to be conducive to the promotion of physical, mental and moral health. Teenagers and young adults are less likely to become involved in drug abuse or suffer from the medical conditions associated with sexual promiscuity. Alcohol related road accidents are less common, as are the many diseases associated with high alcohol consumption and the use of tobacco; and it is also a fair assumption that major killers of the middle aged - cardio vascular disease related to hypertension and arterio-scleriotic disease - are less for those who have stressed reduced by their involvement with the worshipping community.[108] For the elderly, such involvement almost certainly offsets the psycho-somatic problems associated with loneliness, depression and meaninglessness.

f. PSYCHOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

Black Pentecostalism in common with West African primal religion and American slave religion, is essentially 'bi-focal' in that its holistic world view integrates the secular and the sacred; the material and the spiritual; thus avoiding the one-sided perspectives of both medieval Christendom and modern rationalism. This is not to suggest that there is a perfect balance between the two. The first generation have a tendency to emphasise the spiritual while the second tend to emphasise the material, but for both there is some degree of creative tension which for multitudes of people in Western society is totally lacking

In psychological terms we may speak of modern Westerners being out of touch with the unconscious to the extent that, for some, there is a desperate flight from reason into various occult, gnostic or oriental philosophies. The creative tension is lost in both atheistic materialism and in irrational existentialism.

If, as Freud said, "dreams are the royal road to the unconscious" then many of the first generation have travelled this way. However, Freud's view that the purpose of dreams is virtually limited to the censored expression of disguised desires for the gratification of some libidinal drive - the fulfilment of a repressed wish - is too narrow and fails to adequately account for the significance some black Pentecostal dreams have for the

congregation as well as the dreamer. Carl Jung's models of the psyche, on the other hand, further develop Freud's views and are of more use in understanding why the accounts of some dreams - given as testimonies during services - clearly have a profound effect on the congregation (or at least a significant section of it). Jung conceived the unconscious as having many levels. Beneath the personal unconscious lie other strata of historical, racial and ultimately a primal collective unconscious.[109] It is to these strata of the collective unconscious that archetypal symbols are profoundly meaningful. Thus a few accounts of dreams have a universal symbolic significance, others are culturally specific and some have meaning only for the dreamer.

Because the majority of first generation black Pentecostals and some of the second generation, expect God to speak to them in dreams, they take them seriously and in doing so meditate upon them and tell others about them, and thus integrate the unconscious with the conscious to set limits on unrestrained conscious desires and behaviour, to come to terms with childhood traumas, to guide them in future actions, to warn them of self damaging tendencies and bring about healing and wholeness. Through the dream the black Pentecostal is often informed by her unconscious of things which have been ignored or overlooked, and she thanks God for this revelation.

Some accounts of dreams also have meaning for the congregation. In such collective dreams, symbols which are either culturally specific or universally recognisable are in evidence. The emotional responses of the congregation to such images indicates that they instinctively '**feel**' the truth of what is being **recounted** because such symbols are archetypal and have meaning at the level of the collective unconscious. To confront these archetypes without the interpretation ascribed to them by their Pentecostal faith is however to risk being taken over by the primeval forces of the collective unconscious; to open oneself up to demon possession. To take them seriously and consciously express them within the world view, paradoxical narratives and ritual of black Pentecostalism is to safely tap into a source of wisdom, knowledge and creative energy which is denied to the rationalist and potentially devastating to the existentialist who confronts the collective unconscious without the conscious protection of religious interpretations.

The trend in Western Christianity has been towards externalisation and rationalisation. Christ is without, not within, and the existence of demons is denied. Jung writes:

> Christian civilisation has proved hollow to a terrifying degree: it is all veneer, but the inner man has remained untouched and therefore unchanged. His soul is out of key with his external beliefs; in his soul the Christian has not kept pace with external developments. Yes, everything is to be found outside - in image and in word, in Church and

> Bible - but never inside... Two few people have experienced the divine image as the innermost possession of their own souls. Christ only meets them from without, never from within the soul; that is why dark paganism still reigns there, a paganism which, now in a form so blatant that it can no longer be denied and now in all too threadbare disguise, is swamping the world of so-called Christian culture.[10]

The black Pentecostal, on the other hand, can speak of experiencing God "deep down in my soul". Christ is within, and the trinitarian distinctions are lost, for when "the spirit moves" all of the 'Persons' of the Godhead are encountered as simultaneous inner realities (see John 7:38). The Oneness doctrine approximates more closely to this uninterpreted experience than 'externalised', objectified trinitarianism. Black Pentecostals also recognise the dark and evil spirits which attack from within but can be exorcised in the name of Jesus. The **Id** and **Thanatos** (Freud), the negative (unredeemed) aspects of the **personal and collective shadows** (Jung), autonomous complexes or uninterpreted and hence uncontrollable archetypes - the devil and his demons - are given their due, identified and reminded that, though the time of their destruction is still future, their power is less than the Christ (the advocate) who dwells within the saints by His Spirit. The integration of outer and inner; soma and psyche; material and spiritual; intellectual and experiental; thinking and intuition; conscious and unconscious produces a wholeness of personality. In Jung's terms, the integration of ego and unconscious in the psyche by the **advocate.** One would expect neurosis to be

statistically less common for black Pentecostals than for the general population for whom this psychological integration is lacking.[11]

On the other hand, the entire sanctification doctrine of the three-stage Pentecostals may lead to the denial of the **shadow** - the potential evil within - which will grow in proportion to the degree it is repressed to generate neurosis and be projected onto others. Hating and condemning the sin in another is often simply a manifestation of ones own unadmitted sinfulness which is made even harder to acknowledge if one claims to have been made holy by the eradication of the "Adamic nature". The lack of tolerance and love, and the condemnation which some Pentecostals manifest towards "unbelievers", "sinners" and "backsliders" - those of their number who have departed from "truth and holiness" - is often a projection of the repressed evil in their own unconscious. Paradoxically, the very racism under which black Pentecostals have suffered is often the projection of negative aspects of the white **collective shadow** onto black people. The racist projects what he hates in himself onto a stereotype of the "immmigrant".

The potential evil of the repressed **shadow** can burst forth with uncontrollable fury as the "sanctified saint" backslides with a vengence (see Romans 7:19-25). Only by recognising projection and constantly confessing (rather

than repressing) ones sin - by coming to terms with ones **shadow** - and admitting ones weakness will Christians be thrown continually onto the mercy of God for forgiveness, and thus be able to forgive others (Matthew 6:12,14,15). Only the weak and dying can find their strength and life in the Christ whose weakness and death was followed by resurrection. It is the recognition and confession of one's own weaknesses and guilt - rather than the condemnation of others - which brings forgiveness, freedom from the neurosis of self condemnation and genuine **metanoia**.

Another Pentecostal practise which integrates the rational with the non-rational; the material with the spiritual; the conscious with the unconscious and the objective with the subjective, is glossolalia. Of course, glossolalia itself is an externally manifest phenomenon, but it is often an outer expression of subjective religious experience, as indeed is motor behaviour, dance, the **charismata pneumatica** and a variety of other liturgical expressions. All evidence of the Holy **Spirit** is indirect: "The wind [**pneuma**] blows where it will, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know whence it comes of whither it goes" (John 3:8). Thus the work of the Spirit is only discernable in terms of the effects. While the decision whether or not to speak in tongues or dance may be a conscious one (as is the decision to sleep prior to dreaming) the 'words' spoken in glossolalia and the movements made in liturgical dance, for

all their cryptoamnestic stylisation, are intuitive. They are an invasion into consciousness of the unconscious (as are dreams); an integration of the spiritual with the physical.[12] The first occurence of both glossolalia - usually understood by Pentecostals as the "initial evidence" of Spirit baptism - and liturgical dance, though desired by the devotee, is usually involuntary and often marks a traumatic breakthrough of the unconscious and the start of a new psychological and spiritual integration.[13] Thus, for many, their first glossolalic experience brings about a permanent positive transformation of their lives.

Some black Pentecostals also report having had visions - often associated with their conversion. Like glossolalia and dreaming, visions (waking dreams) are a means whereby the unconscious (often the collective unconscious) can invade consciousness with a message from the divine. In common, they all require interpretation to render them meaningful but they may be of benefit to the recipient even without a conscious understanding of what they mean. Furthermore, Freud's thesis that religion encourages regression has been effectively refuted by Andrew Greeley who discovered a correlation between mystical experiences and emotional maturity.[14]

g. MEANING AND PURPOSE

Carl Jung wrote that:

> During the past thirty-five years people from all the

> civilized countries of the earth have consulted me. I have treated many hundreds of patients, the larger number being Protestants... Among all my patients in the second half of life - that is over thirty-five - there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life. It is safe to say that everyone of them fell ill because he had lost what the living religions of every age give to their followers, and none of them has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook.115

Within the black Pentecostal worshipping community adherents find cognitive and experiental answers to what Max Weber called the problem of meaning. The congregation seeks to come to terms with the ontological **WHY?** of human existence; to ascribe meaning to the apparently random nature of the world; to understand the nature of evil, of sin, of death and of human powerlessness; and to overcome the anxiety and confusion created by cultural dissonance. In the Pentecostal congregation there are simple positive answers to complex questions. Dogmatic norms and beliefs define good and evil and provide an escape from the nihilism or agnosticism of the secular world and from the tentativeness, prevarication or secularism of the mainstream denominations which tend to perpetuate the moral crisis of the individual. In the Pentecostal congregation a world view or fabric of meaning is provided by which adherents can interpret both their lives and events transpiring around them. Elements of fundamentalism, inherited from their white co-religionists; the black leitmotive with its roots in West Africa and the experience of slavery, and an understanding of their encounter with and experience of the divine, form a matrix of meaning,

purpose, norms and values. Order is created out of chaos. A code of life and behaviour saves them from normlessness, and life, death, sin and suffering become understandable and meaningful as part of the battle between the devil and God: "The Great Commander" who will ultimately be victorious and in whose victory the saint will share.

> Victory is mine;
> Victory is mine;
> Victory today is mine.
> I told the devil;
> Get thee behind,
> Victory today is mine.

Fear is overcome by the provision of a view of reality which makes human experience and apparently random events understandable and consequently less frightening.

Statements of doctrine, ethics and values however, are insufficient in themselves. People crave experiential verification; proof that life has meaning and purpose. This is forthcoming in the black Pentecostal worshipping community where this encounter with, and ongoing experience of, the divine confirms their faith; and the ultimate truths which banish anxiety are conveyed in symbol, story, song and liturgical motor behaviour to the unconscious.

The migration from the Caribbean to England which was primarily for economic reasons, is understood by black Pentecostals as ordained by God so that the gospel may be brought back to the nation which once brought it to them. Thus black Pentecostals have a strong sense of purpose.

Their living faith which is embraced with absolute commitment is to be shared with evangelistic zeal. Not only are they saints; they are missioneries to a backslidden nation; prophets to an apostate society. "I didn't come to this country because I love England," declares Elder Malcolm of the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Apostolic), "but because God wanted me here."

In Durkheim's terms, the Pentecostal organisation may also be understood as providing a moral code which sets limits on the unrestrained desires which result from anomie. The individual is thus more likely to accept his social and occupational status without complaint. It is noteworthy, however, that as the second generation begin to questions the ethical rigorism, taboos and morals of their organisations, they are simultaneously seeking social and economic advancement and refusing to have their status determined exclusively by either the congregation or white-dominated society.

Many congregations eventually save sufficient funds to purchase disused church buildings, and in a few cases even build new ones. Thus men are able to demonstrte their skills in building, carpentry and decorating; women in needlework, upholstery and cleaning. Because most of the buildings are old and some of the congregations are still expanding there is the need for ongoing maintenance, renovation and sometimes extension. There are ample

opportunities for ongoing demonstrations of technical prowess. Both men and women are involved in fundraising but the women are generally more successful as they can utilise their abilities in dressmaking, knitting, crochet, baking and cookery. Men, on the other hand often excel at maintaining and driving the congregation's mini-buses and sometimes even coaches. During times of high unemployment, to be black means that one is less likely to be offered paid work. Self image and sense of worth are seriously threatened among all of those who have internalised the Protestant work ethic - none more so that the bulk of the male first generation of black Pentecostals. Involvement in church work at all levels brings about a sense of worth, purpose and dignity. In short, all that is human; all that a person has and is can be used in the holistic worship and all embracing service of the Pentecostal congregation.

h. ENTERTAINMENT, ARTISTRY AND AESTHETICS

Brian Wilson, writing of the overwhelmingly white and white-led Elim Pentecostal Church, observed that,

> it provides swinging choruses for popular 'tunes; it offers gospel sermons in place of picture shows; it provides big national conventions in place of the great sporting events of the world; and above all it provides a purpose for the lives of those who come into the movement.[116]

This is equally true of black Pentecostals who spend the bulk of their leisure time in activities related to the congregation.

> He is all I need;
> He is all I need;

Jesus is all I need.

So sing the Pentecostals.

I am satisfied;
Satisfied with Jesus.
I am satisfied;
Satisfied with Him.
Every need His hand supplied;
Praise the Lord I'm satisfied.
I am satisfied [or"are you satisfied?"];
Satisfied with Him.

For the black Pentecostal, most needs, if not met directly by Jesus, are at least met by involvement with the worshipping community. The taboos against "worldly entertainment" and "ungodly passtimes" are not difficult to bear (although many are being challenged by the second generation) because both the local congregation, the organisation, and events involving several black Pentecostal groups are regularly organised. Weekly services, visits to other congregations, "programmes", gospel concerts and conventions (often called "Convocations") provide musical entertainment, comedy, narrative, the drama of ritual and story, excitement and even sensual thrills. Soloists, choirs, and those who testify, "exhort" or preach, are regularly cheered and applauded during a service. As one pastor put it:

> If you feel to rejoice and sometimes people say, "Why do you shout?" When you consider what God means to you, what He's done for you, if you were to sit there and not shout you would burst... We really enjoy it - that what its there for, to be enjoyed![17]

Ali A Mazrue, speaking of African primal religion declared: "Prayer can be joyful; worship fun; and ceremony a game."[18] The same could be said of most black Pentecostal

worship.

Communal meals associated with rites of passages, conventions and even occasional outings, give opportunities for everyone to be part of large social gatherings. Worship has little to do with the idea of duty and much to do with joy.

> I feel the joy of Mount Zion;
> It's coming down in my soul.
> I feel the joy of Mount Zion;
> It's coming way down in my soul.[11]

Worship is an outlet for self expression, creativity and artistry - singing, playing instruments, exhorting, preaching, talking in tongues - an opportunity to demonstrate abilities and skills and to receive the praise of others for them. Not only are 'sacred' skills valued, but also 'secular' ones, and in practise little or no distinction is made between them for the sacred and the secular are merged in their holistic world view which reflects that of West Africa - everything is sacred if it is done for God and for His Church, and God is served when the Christian community benefits from the talents, artistry or labours of the individual. To serve God is to serve the worshipping community and to serve the worshipping community is to serve God.

Artistic skills and expression are developed in music, singing and even dancing and liturgical motor behaviour. Most congregations have young people playing guitars,

drums, electronic keyboards and pianos but not pipe organs - even when they are installed in existing church buildings. From infancy, the children of black Pentecostals are introduced to music, singing and rhythm which will continue throughout their lives:

> Clap your tiny hands;
> Clap your tiny hands;
> Clap your tiny hands for joy.
> Jesus loves to hear little children sing.
> Clap your tiny hands for joy.120

The artistic liberty encouraged by the black Pentecostal congregations results in tremendous musical creativity as musicians and singers extemporaneously modify or embellish existing tunes, words and tempos to make them their own. Music, singing, dancing and liturgical motor behaviour are about freedom to express and create a tangible representation of inner awareness; to manifest ones "soul" and thus communicate and share unconscious meanings, values and hopes with the congregation. When this occurs the Spirit is said to be "moving" and the immanence of God is acknowledged. "We need the Spirit of God. We cannot worship Him in our own dry way," declares a "Missionary" of the United Church of God.121

For the second generation, gospel music is of great importance, and is profoundly meaningful for the first generation also because it is a type of music which is closely related to other black traditions within a common genre which all black Pentecostals are familiar with. This genre began in the 18th century as a syncretism of African

rhythms and musical styles with the hymns of Isaac Watts, the Wesleys and others of that era. English hymnody was indigenised and transformed with a creative liberty which produced Negro Spirituals which can scarcely be related to their English progenitors. Other Spirituals were the purely oral products of Southern revivalism, the experience of slavery and the syncretised Christianity of the slave community.[122] After emancipation, the Spirituals and their 'secular' counterparts, the Blues and Jazz, were successfully blended into a new style by the Methodist Episcopal minister, Charles Albert Tindley, who integrated ideas of future deliverance with those of present need. From this particular style Gospel was brought to birth by Thomas A Dorsey, Sallie Martin, Lucy Eddie Campbell Williams, Mahalia Jackson, W Herbert Brewster, The Roberta Martin Singers, the Golden Gates and others.

Dorsey and Martin both shared a Baptist upbringing but Martin went over to the Holiness Movement which retained more African style and rhythm than their Baptist colleagues. Their Gospel music grew primarily out of a creative fusion of Spirituals and the Blues with their clearly discernable African antecedents.[123] Dorsey had spent the first half of his musical career singing the Blues, committing himself exclusively to Gospel music from 1929:

> This rhythm I had, I brought with me to gospel songs. I was a blues singer, and I carried that with me into the gospel songs. These songs were not just written.

> Something had to happen, something had to be done, there had to be a feeling. They weren't just printed and distributed. Somebody had to feel something, someone had to hand down light for mankind's pathway, smooth the road and the rugged way, give him courage, bring the Black man peace, joy and happiness. Gospel songs come from prayer, meditation, hard times and pain. But they are written out of divine memories, out of the feelings in your soul.[124]

Dorsey's fusion of **Spirituals and Blues**, which undermined the distinction between sacred and secular music, was initially greeted with hostility by the black churches, but in 1932 - in the midst of the Great Depression - the Baptists, particularly the younger generation, embraced these liturgies of hope with great enthusiasm. Tragically, Dorsey's wife died in childbirth during this time and the baby died a few days later.[125] Dorsey poured out his anguish and brokeness of spirit in what has become one of the great classic Gospel songs:

When my way groweth drear,
Precious Lord linger near,
When my life is almost gone;
Hear my cry, hear my call,
Take my hand lest I fall;
Take my hand, precious Lord,
Lead me home.

Precious Lord, take my hand,
Lead me on, let me stand,
I am tired, I am weak, I am worn;
Through the storm, through the night,
Lead me on, to the light;
Take my hand, precious Lord.
Lead me home.

When the shadows appear,
And the night draweth near,
And the day is past and gone;
At the river I stand,
Guide my feet, hold my hand;
Take my hand, precious Lord,
Lead me home.[126]

In 1952 and 1969 Mahalia Jackson brought Gospel music in person to London when she sang at the Royal Albert Hall, and in 1962 Langston Hughes' dramatic stage play **Black Nativity** with its Gospel singing, came to Britain.[127]

Gospel music in Britain was not simply an American import, however, but was developed out of the black Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist churches in the mid 1950s primarily as part of their liturgy rather than as a commercial form of entertainment. The first generation Gospel style of groups like the Singing Stuarts and the Golden Chords generally echoed the forms of the Caribbean but the younger Pentecostals formed groups like the Harmonisers, the Heavenly Hopes and the Soul Seekers which drew more heavily on the tradition of the United States. In the early 1970s the records of Andre Crouch and Edwin Hawkins fed yet another wave of groups like the CK Band, Kairos, the Doyley Brothers (who won the television talent contest **Opportunity Knocks**) and Paradise. In the mid 70s and early 80s the second generation Pentecostal choirs were coming of age. Some, like the New Jerusalem Choir, the Latter Rain Outpouring Revival Choir, the Merrybells Gospel Choir, the Majestics, and Pamela McIntyre's outstanding Highgate Gospel Choir became nationally recognised throughout the Black Pentecostal Movement and beyond. In 1982 the London Community Gospel Choir (LCGC), with members drawn from thirty-two congregations across the black Pentecostal

spectrum, came together under the direction of Bazil Meade as probably the most ecumenical, socially aware and talented black choir in Britain. Their appearances on television's **Rock Gospel Show** utterly failed to represent the authenticity, vibrancy and liturgical significance of Gospel music, divorced as it was from its context in worship. The formation of the LCGC was followed by other ecumenical choirs such as the Angelics and the Choir Light. There are also nationally known Pentecostal vocal groups like the Echoes of Joy and the Trumpets of Zion.[128]

The paramount significance of Gospel singing is not, however, national recognition, commercial success or mass popular entertainment but authentic black second generation worship. Of course, Gospel music can be entertaining and a marketable commodity but as Viv Broughton makes clear:

> The phenomenon of gospel as a media spectacle... shouldn't obscure the fact of it as a huge liturgical revival within the black churches, creating an entirely new body of religious song. The influence of American gospel is self-evident, but the new British sound springs from congregational worship... As this groundswell of cultural power grows, we shall not be hearing only the sound of music, however moving and thrilling it may be. Coming up from the bottom rung, this is a generation of black Christians who are uniquely placed to be a living witness to all the sorrow, brutality and corruption in the wider society. When gospel singers open their mouths to 'make a joyful noise unto the Lord' they sing out of an experience of salvation but they also sing out of an experience of being cheated and downgraded as all black people have been... They speak a righteous word and they sing a hopeful song. It's still good news in bad times.[129]

Gospel is a type of music which, in the words of Broughton, is "always at its best when at its most emotive and

cathartic."130 In song, the black British Pentecostals pour out their pain and joy; their fears and hopes; their frustrations and triumphs. "The real, breathtaking power of gospel singing," continues Broughton, "cannot be understood as anything less than the ecstatic shout of a soul set free at last."131 While the words may be important, they are sometimes also banal when abstracted from their context in the total liturgical experience of Gospel music. "Gospel," writes Broughton, "deserves to be heard for the depth of its prophecy out of the mouths of its prophets... Great wisdom and jubilations, pulsating through the music quite apart from what is actually being articulated."132

Gospel music is not just a style of singing, it is a way of life for many of the black second generation which is committed to Christ. The techniques of Gospel can be, and often are, imitated but what is produced can never compare with the liturgical artistry which is generated by the combination of Christian commitement and encounter with the divine which, when united with the absolute dedication, musical ability and raw energy of the second generation black Pentecostals, can produce the most profound, moving and psychologically deep expression of worship. For some, Gospel music has been a route out of the Pentecostal churches into commercial secular music, and for others an opportunity to perform in secular venues, but for most it remains part of the authentic black liturgical expression of the second generation which is an act of worship, a

cathartic release and an affirmation of community creativity and belonging.

Similarly, the black Pentecostal sermon, exhortation, prayer or testimony can be highly creative and replete with archetypal symbolism. Sometimes - more often in the case of sermons - this can also be highly original, but even the least original and articulate can create an acceptable testimony by stringing together bits of oral 'tradition'. Testimonies by most of the first generation, which may seem to the outsider to be spontaneous and extemporaneous are often quite stereotyped and conform to a normative pattern which, though it may differ slightly from congregation to congregation and more significantly from organisation to organisation (depending upon whether they are Oneness or Trinitarian), is nevertheless both recognisable and definable in terms of a distinctive structure which is best described as 'pericopic'. Three genre of such oral units are readily discernable. The first consists of passages from the Scriptures which have taken on a restored orality among the black Pentecostals. While adherents read the Bible and undoubtedly learn many texts in this way, there are also short passages which are so often repeated in services that they form a pool of commonly vocalised oral units which everyone is familiar with, and the newly initiated will learn by virtue of their repetition without the need of text. Secondly, are the oral units drawn from hymns, choruses and gospel songs - Moody and Sankey for the

first generation and Gospel for the second. Such quotations are often, but not invariably prefaced with, "the hymn writer say:..." Finally, there are traditional phrases, salutations and concluding requests without which most first generation testimonies are considered inadequate or even disrespectful. The following two examples are both from a Oneness congregation and it is quite possible to identify the type of congregation that a testimony is from by the particular traditional phrases used. The same is true of the totality of oral liturgy used by the black Pentecostals. In the following two exemplary testimonies, Biblical quotations are printed in emboldened upper case, quotations from hymns, choruses and gospel songs in emboldened lower case, traditional phrases - including courtesy statements - in normal upper case, 'original' or idiosyncratic phraseology in normal lower case and the louder congregational responses in parentheses:

PRAISE THE LORD SAINTS! [PRAISE THE LORD!] WE PRAISE THE LORD! [PRAISE THE LORD! PRAISE HIM!] I GREET OUR MINISTERS; BISHOP. I GREET THE EVANGELISTS, SAINTS, DEACONS, MISSIONARY - I GREET YOU N THE MIGHTY NAME OF JESUS. Tonight MY SOUL DO MAGNIFY THE LORD. I magnify the God of my salvation. PRAISE GOD because He is worthy to be praised. Tonight, THE SONG WRITER SAY: Come let us bow down and worship the Lord. [YES!] LET US GLORIFY HIS HOLY NAME! [AMEN!] Because His name is worthy to be praised. [YES!] Tonight I must MAGNIFY THE NAME OF THE LORD because He has brought me thus far. HE HAS BROUGHT ME OUT OF THE MIRY CLAY and HE HAS SET MY FEET ON A ROCK to stay. [Rock to stay!] And that is where I mean to stay! [YES!] YOU PRAY FOR ME IN JESUS NAME. [PRAISE THE LORD! PRAISE HIM! PRAISE THE LORD!]133

PRAISE THE LORD SAINTS! [PRAISE THE LORD!] PRAISE THE LORD! [PRAISE THE LORD!] PRAISE THE LORD! [PRAISE THE LORD! PRAISE GOD!] I MUST GIVE HONOUR TO THE SPIRIT OF GOD... [HALLELUJAH!] I GREET BISHOP, MINISTERS,

> MISSIONARIES, EVANGELISTS, SAINTS IN CHRIST, little children IN THE MIGHTY NAME OF JESUS! [That's right! **PRAISE HIM**!] I'M THANKING THE LORD FOR BRINGING ME HERE ANOTHER convocation. [**AMEN**! **PRAISE THE LORD**!] And you know I'm beginning to feed - PRAISE JESUS! [That's right! **PRAISE THE LORD**!]... The moment I knew it was convocation, I put in for my holidays. [YES! That's right!]... I'm FEASTING ON THE WORD. [**AMEN**!] I'm looking for food - **PRAISE GOD**! [YES!] SPIRITUAL FOOD! [YES!] I'm not talking about the food I put in the belly! [**AMEN**!]... AND I'M THANKING HIM TODAY that **He reached down His hands for me**! [YES!] I can join in the line of a song: **I was lost in sin,** [YES!] **and I had no hope but He stooped so low and He rescued me.** And I MUST rejoice brethren. [YES!] YOU PRAY FOR ME; MY DESIRE AND MY INTENTION IS TO GO ON - PRAISE JESUS!...[**PRAISE THE LORD**!] YOU PRAY FOR ME IN JESUS NAME. [**PRAISE THE LORD**!][134]

It is often impossible to determine whether a particular phrase is used because it is 'traditional', biblical or from a song. For most black Pentecostals the source is quite irrelevant so long as it is drawn from the pool of liturgically acceptable pericopes. This is not to suggest that such testimonies are insincere or have no relationship to the life experiences of the speaker. On the contrary, they express many of the subjective 'realities' which are central to the black Pentecostal's experiences of salvation, sanctification, Spirit baptism, the divine presence, temptation and so on. And also the objective realities of pain, sickness, rejection, discrimination, suffering, etc. However, these experiences, of both the external world and the psyche are perceived and interpreted according to a culturally and ecclesiastically defined frame of reference, and expressed in words, phrases and structures which are part of the oral tradition of the black Pentecostal movement which has drawn extensively from

the older and wider tradition of black religion and culture in the Americas. Like all other black Pentecostal liturgical expression there are elements of catharsis as people pour out something of their fear and frustrations as well as their faith, joy and gratitude to God and the congregation.

The same three genre of oral units are used in sermons, exhortations and prayers by the first generation and, to a lesser extent, by the second generation also. Some second generation testimonies, on the other hand, can depart from this form and, in the case of the young radicals, address issues rarely heard in those of the first generation. One woman in her twenties, for example, was able to include in her testimony, the social implications of the gospel, practical Christianity, third world poverty and the acquisitiveness of Western society.135

The difference between the sermon - "the message" - and exhortations is more semantic than real. While the single sermon is most commonly delivered by the pastor or other leader and generally lasts between forty minutes and an hour (but it can be twice as long!), several exhortations are given by minor church officers and nuclear members, seldom exceed thirty minutes and can be considerably shorter. Structurally and stylistically, however, there is little or no difference between "the message" and exhortations.

The preaching of black Pentecostal pastors, at its best, re-tells the stories of the Bible in such a way that they become the contemporary stories of His people. James H Cone, writing from his experience in the United States, notes that:

> In black churches, the one who preaches the Word is primarily a story-teller. And thus when the black church community invites a minister as pastor, their chief question is: "Can the Reverend tell the story?" This question refers both to the theme of black religion and also to the act of story-telling itself. If refers to a person's ability to recite God's historical dealings with his people from Abraham to Jesus, from St Paul to John on the island of Patmos, and to the preacher's ability to relate these biblical stories to contemporary black stories. The past and present are joined dialectically, creating a black vision of the future.136

While a black Pentecostal congregation in Britain is unlikely to "invite" a minister to serve them in quite the same way, Cone's assessment of the importance of story is equally applicable to black Pentecostalism in Britain. Furthermore, these stories are preached in such a way that the whole congregation can share in their telling by responding to, prompting and preempting the preacher to the extent that they all become part of the story itself. The biblical story is not just retold but recreated as the story of the black congregation. And in this recreation it is orally participated in and thus, to a degree, relived. The very orality of the shared story is its life. It is sounded forth here and now, and is not merely a textual record of things long past. It is the product of **pneuma**; of breath; of the Spirit of life. Sounded forth by the

congregation, participated in by the congregation, it is the incarnation of God's redemptive story in them.

"Religion," writes Paul Tillich, "is the substance of culture and culture is the form of religion."[137] While black Pentecostals perceive the Holy Spirit as present in their liturgy, worship and preaching, many also recognise that it is culturally specific. One black pastor expressed it thus:

> I'm converted, I've got the Spirit of God - I'm filled with the Holy Ghost - and I can't come and worship in a nominal way... If I come to your church I sit down and be there, be quiet, but I wouldn't promise you I could be there for weeks and weeks because I would have to testify and worship really, and if I feel this love of God - feel the Spirit of God - I would go shouting which would embarrass the people in your churches... I think that's the reason - or the chief reason - its not a matter of prejudice or you didn't want to mix with white... I never tried to develop that kind of a barrier. Then where worship is concerned its a totally different thing - we are different altogether... They've [the white British have] been taught not to show emotions in public, and then we've been taught: well yes feel free... I wouldn't go there [to white churches] to expect them to be shouting as we do because its a different thing altogether and, more or less, custom.[138]

When I asked another black pastor if culture played some part in the different worship styles found in black and white churches, he replied:

> Well you know, the white man work in the factory and he hit his finger with a hammer and he says, "Ouch, Oh dear." The black man hit his finger and he shouts, "OH GOD! OH! OH! OH! OH! OH!" We like to express ourselves.[139]

The black Pentecostals have developed oral liturgies and worship forms to which they can relate. The symbolic

complexes which the Western European mainstream churches use in worship were generated in historical periods and social, psychological and cultural conditions which were and are, generally far removed from the experiences of black people in the Caribbean and the present realities of their lives in England. Because many of the symbolic complexes of liturgy and worship arose to some extent in response to needs which were specific to a particular culture, at a particular time, it is not surprising that many black Christians found that ancient 'white' forms and symbols failed to communicate those deeper levels of meaning which are expressed in distinctively 'black' forms of worship. It may also be that certain liturgical retentions from both the European traditions and from African primal religion reflect archetypal symbols in the collective unconscious and hence are meaningful - at least at an unconscious level - inspite of some dramatic changes in the life experiences and perceptions of 20th Century worshippers. For black people to attempt to be a-cultural in their liturgy is to run the risk of being overwhelmed by the hegemony of white cultural norms - to become the compliant slaves of a cultural imperialism which threatens their self-identity and sense of worth. The repression of ethnicity may lead to unity of a sort but it is a spurious unity which not only denies aspects of black peoples' humanity but also engenders a cultural alienation which may isolate them from the wider black ethnic group and alienate them from part of their own being.

Dress is important to black Pentecostals, particularly most of the second generation. For both generations there is the idea - or rationalisation - that one must look ones best for God. This justifies the wearing of high fashion to some services which becomes totally unrestrained at convention time. One hotelier, during a black Pentecostal convention at a South coast resort, remarked that these were the best dressed people he had ever seen there! While dress may be to some extent a compensation for low ascribed status, it is also an expression of the festive nature of worship and of the sheer pleasure of being "a beautiful people". In those congregations which are free from white control, particularly the Oneness congregations, many of the "missioneries" - elderly or middle age women who are highly respected by the congregation and function as deaconesses - dress for special occasions in white "uniforms" which set them apart from others. White was often worn by women during festivals in Jamaica - both before and after emancipation. It is worn by the leading woman in the Cumina cult - the Queen of the Cumina and her four to six attendants - when attending ceremonies, and it is also the Akan colour of celebration.[140] Many black Pentecostal choirs also wear colourful and elegant robes. Sound, rhythm and vision are blended together into a harmony as the choirs process down the aisles or stand swaying in time to the music. Many black Pentecostal ministers wear gowns or robes on special occasions.

The oral and kinetic liturgies [141] of black Pentecostalism display great artistry, creativity, congregational empathy and co-operation. The radical liberty of such liturgies is, however, within clearly recognised structures and implicitly defined parameters. Gayraud Wilmore, describing black worship in the United States from his Presbyterian perspective, could just have well have been describing a black Pentecostal service in England:

> The Black worship service is a theatre of the divine. There is great performatory power in what on the surface may appear to be careless informality, but in fact is an intentionally crafted and stylized pattern of pastoral leadership and congregational participation. People find worship exciting and entertaining as well as edifying and enlightening. In the aesthetic of Black Christian tradition the 'beauty of holiness' is not restricted to the consecrated nature of the ritual, or contemplation of the perfections of God enthroned in majesty. It involves our human ability and skill in the execution of worship so that what takes place makes God real, not only invokes him, but does it with finesse and artistry. The event of worship becomes something joyously satisfying to behold and participate in. Black folks come out of church talking about how much they "enjoyed" the service. They emerge with a sense of having participated in something special, in the drama of salvation. The preacher, the robed, swinging choirs, the colourful congregation become the dramatis personae who have a flair about how they 'call and respond' to each other, smoothly co-ordinating roles, and entering into a symbolic enactment of 'the story' the message that has held the community together through thick and thin, and gives it identity and 'a concert of sympathies'.[142]

The black worshipping community is a congenial milieu for the development and demonstration of abilities, skills, artistic expression and aesthetics for which there are few secular contexts. Furthermore, in the words of Viv Broughton:

> There is no false asceticism and worship is a thing of riotous exuberance that extends over long periods. It's a form of therapy for the soul, healing the wounds inflicted on it by the heartlessness of the world.143

i. COUNTER IDEOLOGY

Within the black Pentecostal congregations, counter-ideologies challenge the hegemony of racist ideology both in white society and within the black community itself. Belief in the innate inferiority of black people and their culture is not only common in white society but is imposed by that society upon black people to the extent that it is internalised to some extent by them also. This is particularly true of the first generation who were socialised into the metropolitan values of Jamaica which denigrated things black or African. Even among the black British, colour is often correlated with status and beauty. Those who are "clear skinned", European featured and straight haired are generally considered to be superior in appearance to those who are often disparagingly referred to as "black" or "African". As long as people accept these negative definitions and stereotypes which racist ideology projects onto and into them, they are rendered powerless to bring about significant social, economic or political change. Ideology is not challenged by a vacuum but by a counter or anti-ideology which breaks the hegemony of the oppressors. Such counter-ideologies exist within the black community but they are strongest within small ideologically motivated groups such as the policito-religious Rastafarian 'Twelve Tribes' or 'Federation', polical coteries and the

black Pentecostal churches which express both an explicit biblically-fundamentalistic ideology and an implicit ideology which - though generally consistent with the Bible - springs from their experiences of life, community and the divine.[144]

Racist ideology, with its pseudo-scientific underpinning, springs from irrational beliefs that black people are inferior, and is a justification for exploitation and oppression. The beliefs which comprise racial prejudice precede their formalisation and legitimisation as racism which can only endure in the long term if 'evidence', albeit spurious, anecdotal or a-typical evidence, is produced to lend support. Because racist ideology affects every aspect of black peoples' lives, it produces it's own evidence. That is to say, racism produces the discrimination which results in high unemployment, poverty and conditions which make anti-social activities, criminality and drug use more likely. These factors can then be cited as evidence in support of the negative stereotypes attached to black people.

The black Pentecostals' counter-ideology also springs from belief: from faith which interprets the world in a different way. Faith, in the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "is being sure of what we hope for and certain of what we do not see."[145] Without hard evidence the early black Pentecostal settlers continued to believe that they

were God's image bearers, of infinite value to their heavenly Father; the saints who would one day inherit the Kingdom. Their fundamentalistic beliefs, though often superficial, and their implicit theology - which we will examine in chapter eight - were an ideological confirmation and affirmation of human dignity and value. Black preaching and worship stimulates the power of human imagination to overthrow the tyranny of racist ideology with an alternative understanding of reality.

From this counter-ideology has sprung an identity which is no longer imposed from outside the black community by a racist culture. It is a positive self-image which challenges negative stereotypes and thus opens up the possibility of black Pentecostals challenging the social, economic and political forces which continue to oppress or constrain them. This positive perception of self and every victory won in the social, economic and political arenas accumulates as evidence of a new reality which discredits racist ideology, builds the confidence of black Pentecostals to engage in the struggle for their own liberation and advance, and confirms the validity and viability of their counter-ideology.

But on what basis does this faith rest **before** there is hard evidence to confirm it? There is no natural progression from crucifixion to resurrection. There is no obvious continuity between negative present and positive future;

between history and eschatology. What is the primary basis for the faith and hope of the black Pentecostals? As we shall see in the next chapter, the black Pentecostals have an inaugurated eschatology which throws a bridge across the gulf separating history from eschatology, and this inaugurated eschatology is founded on the evidence of their pneumatic encounter with, and experience of, the divine which not only brings something of the glorious future into the present, but also assures them that they are loved by One who has power to fulfil their hopes. Disaster, suffering and experiences which an outsider may consider would undermine the faith of the black Pentecostal, rather than trying their faith, in fact confirm it. Because such misfortunes are understood as the attacks of the devil, they offer further confirmation of their status as "saints" of God. The devil's purpose is, after all, not so much to trouble those who are already under his power but to "devour" the believers. Ultimately, however, God will give victory to His Church.

For black Pentecostals the primacy of encounter and experience lies at the heart of the hermeneutical process. Once God has been pneumatically encountered and experienced in love and power within the worshipping community, faith and hope have a foundation upon which to rest. Faith and hope in the One who has made himself known by the Spirit produces a new way of interpreting the world and a new perception of self and community. The person who has

experienced God in this way is liberated, not only from personal sin and guilt, but also (though not totally) from the alien and oppressive ideology which inhibits cultural expression and the freedom to be oneself. To be oneself is to have a new, yet authentic identity which is both culturally specific: black; and universal: a child of God. This new identity is reflected in and indeed a product of a new relationship with God and with the community of faith of which the individual is now a part. The totality of the divine encounter results in a new sense of purpose which is inexorably linked to the purpose of God for the community of faith. Luther Smith, who did his doctoral dissertation on Howard Thurman, applies his thought on religious experience to what he describes as "the liberation stages" of "identity-relationship, meaning" and "power" and analyses the process as follows:

1. The individual has a sense that he or she is being encountered and loved in a personal and private way; a way which affirms one's ultimate worth as a child of God.
2. The experience provides the "confidence of ultimate security." As Thurman states, "the human spirit is exposed to the kind of experience that is capable of providing an ultimate clue to all levels of reality, to all the dimensions of time, and to all aspects of faith and the manifestations therein."
3. The experience of God gives life a new focus, a new sense of commitment. The subject realizes that only a life fully surrendered to God can experience meaning, security, and hope. God becomes the Absolute to which the life is given.
4. The new life commitment (conversion) changes the character and habits of the person. Emotionally, spiritually, and physically the individual experiences more power to respond to the demands of life. The release of this power gives the individual an awareness of his/her potential for fulfillment, for love. The urge to be "Godlike" (perfect)

> transforms the personality to expressing fuller meanings of love.
> 5. In expressing the fuller meanings of love, the subject seeks to change the social order. "In his effort to achieve the good he finds that he must be responsive to human need by which he is surrounded, particularly the kind of human need in which the sufferers are victims of circumstances over which, as individuals, they have no control, circumstances that are not responsive to the exercise of an individual will however good and however perfect."
> 6. The transformation of the self and the social order discloses community (salvation). A life which responds to the vision of God (religious experience) will establish the kind of relationship where God is experienced more and more; where the underlying unity of reality becomes the (immediate) environment in which society finds itself.[146]

Both Thurman and Smith were writing of black Christians in the United States but this description stands very close to the experience of black Pentecostals in Britain. Whether or not there is a temporal sequence as suggested above is difficult to ascertain. My research suggests that liberation, power, identity and relationship are a mutually dependent cluster which overlap to such an extent that temporal sequence is impossible to detect. Purpose springs from this cluster and the whole is demonstrated in practical love and concern within the community, and the expression of an implicit theology in worship and liturgy which we shall examine in the next chapter. These new perceptions and interpretations form the counter or anti-ideology which ultimately produces it's own evidence in the material world.

Not only have black people been oppressed by forces in the concrete world and racist ideology from without, they have

been doubly oppressed by the ideology which they have internalised from the dominant culture (both in the Caribbean and Britain). Not only is what happens to them a problem but how they interpret those happenings. For example, someone who is poor may interpret his poverty as the will of God, punishment for sin, the work of the devil which Christ came to destroy, or the result of human exploitation. The first two interpretations, or 'beliefs' will help to ensure that this individual fatalistically accepts his lot, remains in poverty and does not challenge the status quo. The second two, which are of course not mutually exclusive, are more likely to lead to action which casts off the yoke of oppression. Thus ideas, beliefs, and faith which interprets the world in a 'new' way have a primacy over concrete realities and can ultimately lead to change in the material world. Rosemary Ruether writes that the oppressed,

> have been victimized by their powerlessness, their fear and their translation of these into an internal approbation of subservient and menial roles. They have internalised the negative image projected upon them by the dominant society. They cower before the masters but are also filled with self contempt which makes them self-destructive and fratricidal toward their fellows with[in] the oppressed community. Typically the oppressed turn their frustration inward, destroying themselves and each other, not the masters.
> Liberation for the oppressed thus is experienced as a veritable resurrection of the the self [47]

For black Pentecostals, this "resurrection of the self"; this liberation of the mind to interpret reality in a new way and perceive themselves differently is a direct result of their experiential encounter with God. Luther Smith

summarises Howard Thurman's definition of religious experience in the black community as,

> the consciousness and direct exposure of the individual to God. Such an experience seems to the individual to be inclusive of all the meaning in his life - there is nothing that is not involved."[148] This "exposure" is necessary, says Thurman, because **truth must be experienced.** Truth is more than idea or belief, it is Reality; and the individual must encounter it, not only with the mind, but with the whole self.[149]

This holistic encounter with the divine transforms the self-image and grants a new identity: "Who am I? I am God's beloved one! What is my worth? I have ultimate worth!"[150] It also encourages and empowers the individual and the worshipping community to work for change. "Religious experience," writes Smith,

> ushers one to the source of all power. God's omnipotence assures that no force can overwhelm us. God's immediacy assures that the power we need is at hand... Religious experience enables the oppressed to **know** that power, the ability to achieve purpose is with them. They do not have to be propagandized into believing that they have power; neither will it be necessary to commandeer and use the weapons of the oppressors; neither will the community wait in resignation for the intervention of others to bring their salvation. The presence of God assures and empowers.[151]

For Seymour and the early Pentecostals in Los Angeles, this encounter with the Spirit of God was more than just a personal experience of ecxstacy. It was an enduement of power to bring about social transformation. While white Pentecostals exalted the former at the expense of the latter, black Pentecostals retained both aspects and in Britain are manifesting an increasing commitment to the latter inspite of pressure to desist from some white

headquarters in the United States and the reactionary conformists in their midst.

Thus the sequence of pneumatic encounter with the divine which results in the experience of liberation, power, identity, relationship and purpose produces praxis (ie love in community). This sequence, which was evident at Azusa, endures among black Pentecostals in Britain. Furthermore, a feedback loop from praxis to encounter creates the potential for an ascending spiral. Smith writes that:

> Spirituality does not just consider the "oughtness" (ethics) of helping to form community, but the fact that participation in this labor enables one to experience God. Service to others yields religious experience; social change can possibly make the opportunity for religious experience available to those who find their energies siphoned in securing themselves against a hostile environment.[152]

The doctrine and theology which black Pentecostals have inherited from their white North American counterparts has the nature of white ideology and is historically rooted in the same milieu which produced racist ideology. In chapter one, the racist theology/ideology of Thornton Stringfellow was quoted at some length.[153] Such ideology which united racism and the Bible in unholy matrimony was not a-typical Black theologian, James Cone notes that:

> In North America it is evident that white theology was formed in accordance with the needs of a people dependent upon the slave labour of blacks. Therefore, despite certain variations, theological issues have been shaped in such a way that slavery and other structures of oppression could either be justified or else ommitted altogether from the realm of discourse.[154]

The ideological oppression experienced by black people is multiplied for many black Pentecostals because they have internalised both the racist ideology of white society (the metropolitan values of the Caribbean and British racism), the 'icon' of a white European Christ and the white North American Pentecostal ideology (fundamentalism) which effectively forbids reflection on subjects which it claims to have made definitive, universal and timeless statements about. Theology becomes ideology when it is used to justify specific human interests. Reflection on the oral theology of black Pentecostalism is also rendered less likely because the very nature of orality demands participation in rather than reflection on the message. Orality is associated with action while textuality is associated with cognition.

The degree to which the pre-packaged answers of fundamentalistic ideology have been internalised varies from organisation to organisation and also between different congregations in the same organisation but, in general, fundamentalistic ideology is strongest among the groups with white headquarters in the United States and weakest among those which are free from white control. Most notable among the latter are many of the Oneness congregations which have already challenged some of the 'orthodox' teachings of Pentecostal fundamentalism with their divergent views on Christology, soteriology, pneumatology and water baptism.

The music, rythms, call and response, liturgical motor behaviour and sense of community which opened up the black religionist in West Africa to spirit possession also opens the black Pentecostal worshipper to the possibility of possession, not only by the Holy Spirit but also by malevolent ideological spirits which hold her in bondage. The influence of some white North American Pentecostals (and, in the future, via satellite, of some right-wing television 'evangelists') can often result in the internalisation of the pathological spirits (the demons) of escapism, alienation, inferiority and passivity.

As we shall see in the next chapter, however, the black Pentecostals have developed an implicit theology which - expressed in worship, oral liturgy and life - effectively negates a great deal of the fundamentalistic orthodoxy' which white Pentecostals have sought to impose on them. Having said this however, we must not loose sight of important ideas found within white-defined Pentecostal fundamentalism which not only remain part of the new ideology and implicit theology of black Pentecostals but were a significant confirmation of their faith in, and experience of God. Most significant among them, the idea (so often denied in practise) that men and women (including black men and women) are made in the image of God; that people (including black people) are of such infinite value to God that Jesus died for them; that all those who believe

in Him (and meet whatever other requirements each sect stipulates) receive everlasting life and a place in His (unsegregated?) millenial Kingdom. The counter-ideology and implicit theology of black Pentecostals, like those of their forebearers in New World slavery, is syncretistic and adept at adopting and adapting those elements which are functional for the black worshipping community.

There are elements of white Pentecostal ideology - particularly aspects of fundamentalist doctrine - which are almost totally negated because they are in conflict with the divine encounter and experiences which are central to black Pentecostalism in Britain. This will be considered more fully in the next chapter. Other elements of this ideology, however, have an almost total hegemony because black Pentecostals do not have experiental evidence which challenges them. For example, the Church of God of Prophecy's assertion that they are the one and only true Church (but not the only true Christians) and some of the ethical taboos which are common to virtually all black Pentecostal congregations are seldom effectively challenged, although others are.

One of the most pernicious and enduring of the tabnos imposed by white Pentecostal ideology on black Pentecostals is the forbidding of political involvement on behalf of the oppressed. Many white Pentecostals, in common with other North American fundamentalists (including some blacks), are

only too willing to support the extreme right wing "red neck" policies of the Moral Majority and their political bedfellows.[155] Such activities are considered a-political!

But to take sides with the oppressed in a political challenge to the oppressor requires the black Pentecostal to overcome a powerful and deep rooted taboo by admitting that oppression is more that an eschatological sign that God is about to bring in the Kingdom. To see oppression as sin which the Christian can (and must) challenge because Christ was one of the oppressed and identified himself with them is extremely difficult for black Pentecostals. The individual who acts immorally will be censured or "disfellowshipped" but the state which acts immorally is supported! Evidence from the United States suggests that the greater the religious involvement of black people, the lower their degree of militancy[156] and the same may be said of the majority of first generation Afro-Caribbean Pentecostals in Britain. However, the black Church in America also has a long history of militancy - challenging slavery, segregation, racism and exploitation[157] - and there is a minority of black first generation Pentecostals and a majority of the second generation, who are becoming increasingly militant without abandoning their Christian commitment and religious involvement. John Wilkinson writing of the "theological and cultural boundaries" between black Anglicans and black Pentecostals in Britain points out that the former reject the,

> purely "survival" eschatology regarded as

> characteristic of Pentecostals (a view that the sufferings and political upheavals of the present time precede the end, when God will deliver those who have left the world, and kept faithful in prayer and an upright life) in favour of a **liberation** eschatology (one in which God sustains the Christian struggle for justice and peace in this world).[158]

Wilkinson's typology is, as he admits, "a much simplified summary"[159] which overgeneralises about the other-worldliness of black Pentecostals, but the overt position, particularly of the first generation, is generally a "survival" rather than a "liberation" eschatology. But "survival" in this context should not have any pejorative connotations. Survival must precede liberation. Most of the black Anglicans who are critical of the proletarian Pentecostals in this respect are from the black middle-class for whom "survival" has generally been less problematic.

In the next chapter we shall see that the radicals of the second generation, with some moral, if not vocal support from the first, are challenging the white North American Pentecostal ideology with its anti-politics taboo and are poised to develop an explicit theology (liberation theology?) out of which may spring an involvement in the political arena. Gayraud Wilmore, writing out of the situation in the United States, declares that:

> The idea that religion and politics do not mix, which one often finds in white congregations, is contrary to the tradition of Black Christianity. Black preachers of the nineteenth century knew their Old Testament. What impressed them was how 'Daniel's God' acted in the affairs of his people. The Negro spirituals express the exploits of the Lord of hosts

> and the intervention of 'King Jesus' in behalf of those who are despised and abused by this world. As much as many contemporary Black churches, moving into the middle class, may attempt to underplay this emphasis, it continues to rise up in times of resurgent racism, poverty, and unemployment to force them to return to the political arena or suffer the ridicule and contempt of the masses.160

With their limited education and training, many first generation black pastors felt, and often were, incapable of responding to the overwhelming and complex social, economic and political problems encountered by their congregations. They directed their energies into what they were competant at and emphasised the disjunction between Church and world. The fragmentation of the black Pentecostal movement, as a result of incessant schisms, diluted its potential for consolidated action and often channelled energies into inter-sect rivalry. However, this situation is now changing. Some educated second generation ministers are emerging who can only retain credibility with their peers if they listen to the radicals and take seriously the social, economic and political aspirations of their people. The ethical rigorism and some of the taboos of their parents have been liberalised with a concomitant weakening of the Church/world dichotomy. In 1976 the Afro-Westindian United Council of Churches (AWUCOC) was formed as "a Federation of Black-led Churches established to promote a sense of Unity without conformity" and to "work together on tackling social and educational issues."161 With the exception of the majority of Church of God of Prophecy ministers, local meetings of black church leaders have also

begun to take place to consider issues which are of particular importance to the whole Afro-Caribbean population.

The majority of the churches which joined AWUCOC are Pentecostal and the 1984 edition of the **AWUCOC Handbook** contained an article by a black Methodist minister, Robinson Milwood, entitled, "How is Theology Political". In a footnote, Milwood asserts:

> The Pentecostal churches are attracting... black youngsters... not only because of the nature of identification there of religious worship and culture, but also because the Pentecostal churches are now beginning to break out into the world of political consciousness, economical consciousness, educational consciousness: and thus I would say that it does attract the majority of black people...162

Since the formation of AWUCOC in 1976 we have also seen the beginnings of a peripheral ecumenism which has brought three-stage, Oneness, Holiness and African Aladura churches into some degree of dialogue and cooperation. Thus, some limited political involvement is evident among black Pentecostals in Britain. Out of twenty-two black Pentecostal pastors in Wolverhampton one has become politically involved as a result of high unemployment, but it is noteworthy that he is the bishop of his own small organisation and thus free from the pressure to conform found in many larger bodies.163 Two bishops that I know in other parts of the country are also politically involved but, once again, they are the leaders of their own organisations and thus freed from the ideological 'straight

jacket' which binds others. I have no knowledge of any black pastor in an organisation with a white headquarters becoming politically involved. However, a middle aged black Pentecostal at the New Testament assembly, London, put it both eloquently and succinctly when he said,

> Joseph was the servant of God and he was Prime Minister of Egypt! David was running two kingdoms and he was still worshipping God!

A younger man from 'Bethel' church in Bristol was interviewed for a television documentary and declared:

> I think the church has to become more political... organise peaceful demonstrations... and take a lead.[164]

This statement reflects the thinking of a significant proportion of second generation black Pentecostals in Wolverhampton. However, such statements are likely to result in their marginalisation by the leaders of the first generation. Such views are still a-typical among first generation black Pentecostals who generally share some of the reticence of their white North American co-religionists. Speaking of the United States, Martin Marty wrote:

> pentecostals have... not made major contributions to the 'polis', to political life in the broadest sense... they rarely attempt to take corporate stands on most social issues, and they deal largely with the personal and ecclesiastical sides of their adherents' lives. In general, there political opinions paralleled those of the social classes and majorities in the locals from which they came.[165]

Furthermore, continues Marty:

> A move in the direction of action in the world, however valid it may be from the viewpoint of the Christian revelation, was seen by many as a threat to pentecostal integrity. It could lead Spirit-movement

> people 'down' the same path as the social gospel, social christianity, and other world-engaging emphasis which tended to blur the line between the religious and the secular. The result could be blurring of the demarcating principle, a loss of identity.[166]

The line between sacred and secular while generally accepted by black Pentecostals in terms of a church/world dichotomy is abolished in other areas of life and regularly denied in practise while supported in theory. We will return to this in the next chapter and also examine the "loss of identity" (sectarian identity) which political involvement may threaten while at the same time opening up the real possibility of both a black Pentecostal and a wider ecumenism.

One of the most influential Pentecostal traditions among black people in Britain is that of the Church of God. This movement's most revered 'founding father', A.J. Tomlinson, wrote that following his experience of entire sanctification:

> My interest in politics vanished so rapidly that I was almost surprised at myself when campaign year came round and found nothing in me craving the excitement of conventions, rallies and public speakings... I never have taken any part in politics since, nor gone to the polls and caste a ballot.[167]

Not surprisingly, the politics taboo is strongest in the white dominated Church of God of Prophecy. In 1914 A.J. Tomlinson ruled that:

> The Assembly stands against the members of the Church being members of ... labor unions. But for the present distress members will be granted the privilege of paying dues to labor unions as a tax to purchase a right to work in the mines, factories and

> other public works, but should not attend or take part in their meetings. As a minister is to be an example of believers no one should be licensed or ordained to preach that is in any way connected with labor unions or paid dues to them. The ministers are advised to teach and instruct our people on this subject that each one may see for himself that he should not be thus unequally yoked together with unbelievers.[168]

These sentiments were reiterated in 1915,1919, 1921 and 1922. In 1950 their General Assembly recommended,

> that our members be allowed to belong to labor unions to have work, but they are not to have any part in the business matters in the union. We further recommend that our members are not to take part in strikes unless forced to.[169]

Even the black-led Oneness Pentecostal Assemblies of the World forbids its members to "act in any capacity as an official or executive in any measure in a labor union" or "work as pickets" in a dispute between labour and management.[170] However, during the sanitation workers strike it was at Mason Temple of the Church of God in Christ where the Civil Rights campaign was co-ordinated.

In 1984, thousands of black congregations in the United States were actively involved with campaigns to register black people as voters or with Operation Big Vote which sought, not only to register black voters but to persuade them to actually cast their votes in the 1984 presidential elections. Many black congregations also helped to raise funds to support the campaign of Jesse Jackson.[171]

In a conversation with one of the CoGoP's former white American overseers in Britain, on a subject far removed

from politics, he felt the need to stress his organisation's missionary success in East Africa as a bastion against communist influence. He then went on to explain why he had forbidden the Church of God of Prophecy in Britain to support or be involved with the visit of Archbishop Desmond Tutu to Birmingham. Tutu, he declared, was politically motivated and consequently Christians should not support him. "We do not become involved with people's political aspirations," he said. "Many people think that the ANC are terrorists, except for those who are against apartheid." He made it abundantly clear that he considered them terrorists but repeatedly asserted that, "I personally am against apartheid" (the gentleman doth protest too much, methinks!). His organisation, however, would "not take sides on the apartheid issue" because "we have blacks, coloureds and whites in our churches" and "we don't want tension."[172] While he perceived evangelism in Africa as stemming the tide of communism, he appeared blind to the fact that inactivity is ipso facto support for the political status quo.

In discussion with some members of the Church of God of Prophecy it became evident that, although only a minority of the second generation would unreservedly support Archbishop Tutu, the overwhelming majority welcomed his visit, applauded his stand against apartheid and would go to hear him speak. Even the majority of the first generation, inspite of many reservations, were united in

their unqualified condemnation of apartheid. Unlike their white bishop they had most definitely taken "sides on the apartheid issue" - the side of the oppressed against the oppressor.

When Tutu spoke at Birmingham Cathedral in April 1988, Selwin Arnold, National Overseer of the New Testament Church of God and Desmond Pemberton, Superintendent of the Wesleyan Holiness Church, spoke for the majority of black Christians, including the Pentecostals, when they publicly affirmed their own commitment to the cause he has taken up. Pemberton declared to the multi-racial congregation:

> We support all that you [Desmond Tutu] have done, all that you are doing and our prayers are with you.

Among the congregation were many young radicals from the Church of God of Prophecy! Not only was Tutu's visit to Birmingham in April 1989 supported by Pemberton in his offices as Superintendent of the Wesleyan Holiness Church and Chairman of AWUCOC but also by John Gray and Sidney Thompson of the New Testament Church of God, Joe Corbett of the Shiloh Pentecostal Fellowship and Derek Lambelle, Superintendent of the white-majority Elim Pentecostal Churches. Pemberton wrote:

> the Archbishop of Capetown the Most Rev.Desmond Tutu comes here not only for fellowship with people of like minds in our city, but I believe to seek our mutual support in every way to help them in their struggle for human dignity and justice, because there are historic obligations on this country to identify with their aspirations.[7]

Thus, inspite of the anti-politics taboo, there is

potential for black Pentecostalism in Britain to become a political force for social change and evidence that this has begun. Gerlach and Hine, writing of Pentecostalism in general (both classical Pentecostalism and the Charismatics), declare that:

> Pentecostalism in revolutionary, first, because conversion to it involves fundamental changes in the individual. Second, it is revolutionary in terms of certain effects it has on established churches. It confronts both unbelievers and nominal Christians with the fact of a transforming experience, central in New Testament theology, but easily lost in the bureaucracy and ritual of the modern church. This has disquieting effects on officials of the Christian establishment and forces many of them to a soul-searching review of their positions. Most books on the encroaching "tongues movements" in Catholic and non-Pentecostal Protestant denominations include a chapter on "What can we learn from the Pentecostals?" Third, Pentecostalism has had social, economic, and political effects of potentially revolutionary nature in non-Western societies where it is spreading.[174]

The original message of the movement under Seymour's leadership included the proclamation that the spiritual could bring about change in the social world; that the Holy Spirit was washing away "the colour line in the blood" of Jesus Christ; that Pentecostalism offered not only "pie in the sky when we die, by and by" but also "meat on the plate while we wait". "Pentecostalism, we suggest," write Gerlach and Hine, "is conceptually revolutionary. It encourages an experience through which an individual believes himself to be radically changed; many converts behave accordingly in social situations."[175]

George Sinclair, one of the very moderate young radicals of

the Church of God of Prophecy, makes an impassioned plea for a broader understanding of mission by his organisation:

> Along with a strong message of repentance and salvation, there is a need for the Church to care; not only for her own, but for those widowed, sick and vulnerable in the wider Community. There is a need for the Church to raise her voice against racism, sexism and political oppression. There is a need for the Church to speak out against social deprivation, within the inner city of which so many are disposed to. I believe there is also a need for the people of God to express solidarity with the poor, the hungry, the deprived, and the weak. Jesus read of himself, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has annointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord"(Luke 4:18,19). It is imperative therefore that we take a fresh look at what the church is doing, and should be doing... We forget the quest for Justice, the works of mercy and our duty to embrace social action.
> Of course, we do make occasional Evangelistic raids into enemy territory, but then we withdraw into our Churches, close the doors and our ears to the pleas. Concern is there, but the direction is wrong because mission is larger than the verbal pronouncement of the terms of the gospel...
> Sometimes church leaders can become tyrannical and hostile out of fear of losing 'control' of those within their congregation with a powerful vision or passion of God's love to give and share with people in the wider community. Christian leaders must therefore open their ears and listen to the voice of him who called his people in every dispensation to go out into the lost and lonely world to live and love to witness and serve, like Christ did among us for that is mission.176

We may use the Hegelian idea of things-in-themselves becomming things-for-themselves from which Marx developed his concept of the proletariat - a class-in-itself - becoming a class-for-itself that would ultimately achieve hegemony and a new social order. Marx goes too far for our

purposes but nevertheless provides an analytical tool which may help us to understand how the fragmented black Pentecostal movement is beginning to show signs of developing from a movement-in-itself into the political and economic consciousness of a movement-for-itself. The ties of the Pentecostal to the congregation generally transcend those that are primordial for other people: the local community and the nation. The latter has little claim to be identified with, for are not black people treated as strangers, and the former, even the so-called 'black community' has little to ritually bind it together with the strength of the Pentecostal congregation. Furthermore, because of the disfavour with which football matches and other "worldly amusements" are viewed by most black pastors, such foci of local allegiance are not available to distract Pentecostals from being tied primarily - indeed almost exclusively - to the Pentecostal congregation and organisation. However, the primary ties and exclusive loyalty to congregation and organisation must be transcended by a new awareness of and loyalty to the black Pentecostal movement nation-wide if there is to be a transition from a movement-in-itself to a movement-for-itself.

Such a transition to a movement-for-itself also has a parallel theological dimension. To identify with the crucified Christ is to ally oneself with He who was despised, rejected and ultimately killed. Such an

identification with the suffering Christ, unless it is to be totally hypocritical, must result in some degree of identification with and the support of all who suffer. It means being partisan on behalf of those with whom Christ identified himself. For black Pentecostals this means identifying themselves with the whole black Pentecostal movement, all for whom the term black is a symbol of suffering and rejection and all whom Christ was identified with through His crucifixion. We shall return to this subject in the next chapter.

The more perceptive pastors of the first generation recognise that the second generation black Pentecostal church will be different. Herman Brown of the First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) told me:

> The old ones don't involve themselves in politics... [but] I see also the younger generation have a church with a different face when I'm gone. Yes, I'm beginning to see a church with a different face. A church that will not hide. A church that will not always be like this. A church that will get up and do this. You see, my age group, how we take the whole thing is that, "I'm going up there." And we don't pay much attention to down here. But we live here, so we must be of some good. So I can see a new face; not the face of a devil but a face that is saying we are grown up; now we are mature we must face reality....[177]

Black Pentecostals are Arminians even though few have any knowledge of the debates between Arminianism and Calvinism. They sing of their experiential salvation, their trust in Jesus and their own responsibility to endure to the end or "stay saved":

I am determined to hold out to the end;
Jesus is with me, on Him I can depend;
For I know I have salvation;
I feel it in my soul.
I am determined to hold out to the end.
I'm go'na **hold out**!
I'm go'na **hold out**! (and so on)178

I'm running for my life.
I'm running for my life.
I'm running for my life.
I'm running for my life.
If anybody ask you:
What the matter with you my friend?
You tell them that you're:
Saved, sanctified, Holy Ghost filled,
Water baptised, Jesus on my mind,
And I'm running for my life.

While this position may to some extent reflect the Wesleyan-Holiness roots of Pentecostalism, the fundamental reason for the rejection of predestination by the earliest black Pentecostals was the belief that God could empower people by his Spirit to bring about change in the world. While black Christians did express what Joseph Washington calls a kind of "fatalism", this was not a resignation to fate but rather the realisation that man without the power of God is impotent and, conversely, that the worshipping community can tap into the **force vitale** to obtain power and bring about change in the material (and indeed the social, economic and political) world.179

Black Pentecostals have an optimistic view of humanity which refuses to accept that people must be resigned to a life of misery decreed by God. Salvation is largely a work of the Spirit which transforms, liberates, emboldens and empowers individuals and the community of faith. Thus

change is possible. People can draw on the power and co-operate with the Spirit to bring about the transformation not only of their lives but of their relationships with the forces within society which currently oppress them. While the majority of the first generation do bring spiritual power to bear on material problems, the radicals of the second generation often stand alone in seeking to relate that power to political issues.

For all black Pentecostals, the functions of involvement with the congregation relate to the salvation of the whole person and the redemption of the worshipping community in the broadest sense. Worship and congregational involvement is therapeutic and cathartic and provides both entertainment and opportunities for self-expression and the demonstration of artistry and spiritual and technical prowess within the contexts of liturgy and congregational service. Counter or anti-ideologies challenge the hegemony of racist propaganda and create both a positive self-image and a sense of purpose. For the first generation, the black Pentecostal worshipping community provided material and psychological security; an antidote to fear and loneliness; a sense of belonging and self-esteem; the power to survive in a fundamentally racist society without self-defeating bitterness; faith and hope that change for the better is imminent; psychological and cultural liberation and integration; healing and wholeness; meaning, purpose and cultural freedom. For the second generation,

congregational worship and discipline are sources of power and personal development for advance in the secular world. An alternative understanding of reality which challenges racist ideology, opens up the possibility of the second generation challenging the social, economic and political structures and forces which would oppress them and perpetuate inequality

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12. Ibid.

13. cf Max Weber's thesis that success in business was evidence of divine election. Weber, **The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.**

14. Sung by the elderly first generation of the United Church of God, 7th February 1988.

15. Sung by the United Church of God, 8th Annual Youth Convention, May 1985.

16. Sung by the Highgate Gospel Choir (NTCoG), 14th February 1988

17. Goldschmidt, writing of churches in rural California refers to similar functions: "'t [the congregation] denies the existence of this world with its woes; it denies the values in terms of which they are the underprivileged and sets up in their stead a putative society in the Kingdom of God, where, because of their special endowments (which we call emotionalism), they are the elite. It is the society of the saved. Millenarianism is of the essence, for it is thus that the putative society is created; asceticism is the denial of the world in which they have been denied; and emotional participation is public acclamation of their personal acceptance into this world of super-reality", Goldschmisdt, W R, 'Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches', in **American Journal of Sociology**, January 1944, p 354.

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20. Wedenoja, p 34.

21. Highgate Gospel Choir (NTCoG), 13th February 1988.

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24. cf Beckwith, Martha, **Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaica Folk Life**, NC: Chapel Hill, 1929 pp77-84; Morrish, Ivor, **Obeah, Christ and Rastaman: Jamaica and Its Religion**, Cambridge: James Clark, 1982, pp 62-64.

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31. cf Cone, James, **My Soul Looks Back**,Maryknoll, New York:

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32. cf Samarin, William J, **Tongues of Men and Angels**, New York: Macmillan, 1972, pp 212-216. Glossolalia may function as a status symbol among those marginalised socio-economic groups who have low ascribed status and for whom other means of gaining status are absent. Boisen, A T, **Religion in Crisis and Custom: A Sociological and Psychological Study**, New York: Harper, 1955; Johnson, B, 'Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?' in **Social Forces**, 1961, Vol.39, pp 309-316; Lanternari, V **The Religions of the Oppressed**, New York: A F Knoph, 1963; Pattison, E M, 'Behavioral Science Research in the Nature of Glossolalia' in **Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation**, 1968, Vol 20, pp 73-86; Hine, V H, 'Pentecostal Glossolalia: Toward a Functional Interpretation' in **Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion**, Vol 8, No 2, 1969, pp 211-226.

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128.Broughton, pp 138-153, 154, 156.

129 Ibid, p 157.

130.Ibid, p 7. The devastating effects of black musical artistry are attested to by the way black congregations reacted to many of the gospel groups from the 1930s - falling down, going into comas and other altered states of consciousness.

131.Ibid, p 132.

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139. Interview B22.

140. Lewis, pp 53,69; Field, p 172; Rattray, Robert Sutherland, **Ashanti**, London: Greenwood Press, 1923, p 158 et passim; Braithwaite, Edward Kamau, **The folk Culture of the Slaves in Jamaica**, London: New Beacon Books, 1981, p 27; Simpson, George Eaton, **Religious Cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica, and Haiti**, Rio Piedras: University of Purto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies, 1970, pp 179, 193.

141. See 2 Samuel 6:14-22.

142. Wilmore, Gayraud S, **Black and Presbyterian: The Heritage and the Hope**, Philidelphia: The Geneva Press for Black Presbyterians United, 1983, p 25.

143. Broughton, p 93.

144. The terms 'ideology' is not necessarily used in a prejoritive way. Although it often is used with reference to false consciousness, it also includes **all** of the ways in which groups of people imagine or interpret the reality in which they live. Thus, **all** theology is ideology: it all reflects to some extent the interests of those who produced it or of those from whom they have internalised it, and thus it falls short of the standard of pure theology and must continue to do so as long as it is produced and thus distorted by fallen human beings.

145. Hebrews 11:1, NIV

146. Smith, Luther E., 'Black Theology and Religious Experience' in **The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Centre**, Vol 8 (Fall 1980), pp 67,68.

147. Ruether, Rosemary Radford, **Liberation Theology: Human Hope Confronts Christian History and American Power**, New York: Paulist Press, 1972, p 12 quoted in Smith, p 60.

148. Thurman, Howard, **The Creative Encounter: An Interpretation of Religion and the Social Witness**, Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1954, p 20, quoted in Smith Ibid.

149. Smith, Ibid.

150. Smith, p 61.

151. Ibid, pp 62,63.

152. Ibid, p 69.

153. See pages 12 to 14.

154. Cone, James H., 'The Story Context of Black Theology' in **Theology Today**, 32, July 1975, p 144.
Africaner theologians twisted and interpreted sections of the Bible in order to justify the inhuman treatment which black people were (and are) subjected to in South Africa. Founders of the African National Congress were, in the main, committed Christians who drew a great deal of inspiration from Trevor Huddleston and advocated a non-violent resistance until the mass murders at Sharpeville were seen as a "declaration of war" which legitimised violent resistance as involvement in a "just war".
Tambo, Oliver, speaking on **Everyman: The Moment of Truth**, BBC1, 24th January 1988.
White theology/ideology can cut both ways, legitimising both he oppression of black people a.! their armed struggle against oppression.
cf **The Kairos Document** published by the South African Council of Churches.

155. Gayraud Wilmore notes, "That commitment (for social justice) may flag as some Black Christians join the ranks of the oppressors and turn up in television programmes sponsored by the reactionary evangelists of the Moral Majority. But the radical tension runs deep in the ghetto, and it continues to be motivated and inspired by the religion of the masses."
Wilmore, Gayraud S, **Black and Presbyterian: the Heritage and the Hope**, Philadelphia: The Geneva Press for Black Presbyterians United, 1983, p 96.

156. Marx, Garry T, 'Religion: Opiate or Inspiration of Civil Rights Militancy Among Negroes' in Meier and Rudwick, **The Making of Black America**, New York: Atheneum, 1969 p 364.

157. See Washington, Joseph R,**Black Sects and Cults**, Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973; Wilmore, Gayraud S, **Black Religion and Black Radicalism**, New York: Doubleday, 1972; Witvliet op cit.

158. Wilkinson, John Black Christianity in Britain: Survival or Liberation' in **International Review of Mission**, LXXV, 297, January 1986.

159. Ibid.

160. Wilmore, Presbyterian, p 76

161. Gibson, Ashton, 'The Black Church Movement in Britain' in A Handbook of the Afro-Westindian United Council of Churches, London: The Centre for Caribbean Studies, 1984, p 9.

162. Millwood, Robinson, 'How Theology is Political' in AWUCOC Handbook, p 15.

163. Interview B19.

164. Edmund, Dexter, interviewed for Eye to Eye: Wait on the Lord, BBC2, 30th July, 1987.

165. Marty, Martin, 'Pentecostalism in American Piety and Practice' in Synan, Vinson, Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins, Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos International, 1975, p.208.

166. Ibid. pp 224, 225.

167. Tomlinson, A.J. Answering the Call of God, pp 9,10 quoted in Dugger, Lillie, A.J.Tomlinson, Cleveland, Tennessee: White Wing Publishing House, 1964, p.21.

168. Tomlinson, A J, quoted in Davidson, C T, Upon This Rock, Cleveland, Tennessee: White Wing Publishing House and Press, 1973, pp 437,438. See also pp 448, 518, 552, 553, 594.

169. Minutes of the 45th Assembly (1950), quoted in Church of God of Prophecy Business Guide, Cleveland Tennessee: White Wing Publishing House and Press, 1987, p 45. The 79th Assembly replaced the 1950 resolution with a less specific one.

170. The 1981 Minute Book of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, Inc, np (PAoW), nd (1981), pp 16,40.

171. cf Blackwell, James E, The Black Community: Diversity and Unity, (second edition), New York: Harper and Row, 1985, p 27.

172. Van Deventer, Elmer E, Interview, 9th February 1988.

173. Celebration News, No.1, Easter 1988, p 5.

174. Gerlach and Hine, p XVIII.

175. Ibid. pXIX.

176. Sinclair, George, 'Mission of My Church in the Community' in The Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership: 10 Years of Spiritual Challenge, pp 23,24.

177. Interview B9.

178. Sung at the United Church of God, 7th February, 1988.

179. Washington, Joseph R., **Black Sects and** Cults, Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973, pp xi, 1,20,21,29

CHAPTER EIGHT

BLACK LEITMOTIVE IN THE DIASPORA: OVERT MESSAGE, IMPLICIT THEOLOGY

A theologian is born by living, nay dying and being damned, not by thinking, reading, or speculating.
- Martin Luther, **Table Talk**

Religious experience should not be a subject of the theologian, the theologian needs to be a subject of religious experience. When discourse about God is informed by religious experience, theology becomes a spiritual discipline: a way to test and give expression to the personal and social implications of religious experience.
- Luther E Smith, **Black Theology and Religious Experience**

All theologies arise out of communal experience with God.
- James Cone et al, **Black Theology** declaration, 13th June, 1969.

In the preceding chapter we touched upon the disjunction between the manifest or stated functions of the black Pentecostal congregations and their latent functions, and also on the relationship between this divergence and the dichotomy between the stated doctrines of black Pentecostalism in Britain and the implicit theological meanings which lie at the very heart of the movement. This close relationship should be born in mind as we consider both the reasons for, and the dynamics behind, the dislocation of overt doctrine from implicit theological meaning.

a.THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Before we do so however, it is important that this dichotomy is placed into its historical context as the continuation of the process which began with the forcible removal of people from West Africa to the New World and the subsequent conversion of a large proportion of them to Christianity. Initially, the acceptance of Christianity was, for many, only a veneer which overlaid the primal religious beliefs and practices which the slave holders outlawed. Thus from the earliest days of slavery in the Americas there is evidence of a disjunction between outward profession and inner meaning. Even when the Christian faith was wholeheartedly embraced by part of the diaspora it was a tertium quid, quite distinct from both its progenitors. Though it presented a Christian persona, it continued to pulsate at a deeper level with black leitmotive which echoed the world views of West Africa. These values, beliefs and perceptions were enshrined and codified in oral narrative traditions and religious behaviour, and were transmitted from generation to generation both in West Africa and latterly - in their new Christian guise - in the Americas. These leitmotive include an understanding of the world which integrated the sacred and the profane; the spiritual and the material; the supernatural and the natural, into a holistic interactive universe. The individual was an abstraction, for no one could be fully human without being in community, and the

community could only be viable if it maintained its experiental interrelationships with the spirit world. In particular, spirit possession was sought as a means of drawing on the **force vitale** to bring healing, deliverance, wholeness, power and fullness of life. Added to these enduring African leitmotive were others which were engendered by their experiences of slavery and oppression. Foremost among them were freedom, human dignity, value and pride; a shared identity with the Israelites in their Egyptian bondage, and the hope of an Exodus or an eschatological deliverance and status reversal at the imminent apocalyptic Second Advent of Christ. This hope was brought into the present as an inaugurated eschatology which affirmed that even in oppressive, life-denying circumstances black people were the children of God who would one day "walk the streets of gold".

These themes formed an enduring substratum in the black churches of the Americas both before and after emancipation. Some of these leitmotive became quite overt, but others remained an implicit theology encoded in stories, parables, proverbs, songs and the liturgical motor behaviour which proclaimed the presence of the Spirit. The potential danger that is inherent in the very nature of stories is that they can be told in different ways to serve different ideological purposes. For example, the story of Jesus was told by pro-slavery missionaries to encourage black people to obey their white masters. On the other

hand, the same story was told by slaves and was the basis of an anti-ideology of freedom, human dignity and worth.

Another historical manifestation of this message/meaning dichotomy is to be found in the 'Negro' Spirituals which expressed and communicated the oral theology of the black Church. Their symbolic or allegorical nature ensured an ambiguity which allowed them to be interpreted by slaveholders according to the overt, unsophisticated and other worldly assumptions they made about black Christianity. However, for the black community - particularly those in bondage - they were often a demand for freedom, a condemnation of the system and perpetrators of slavery, and an affirmation of black resistance, dignity, pride and value. A black slave and a white freeman listening to the same song, story or sermon could come away with two very different understandings of what had been communicated. This, writes James Cone, is the meaning behind the black comment:

> The white man is always trying to know into somebody else's business. Alright, I'll set something outside the door of my mind for him to play with and handle. He can read my writing but he sho' can't read my mind. I'll put this play toy in his hand, and he will cease it and go away. Then I'll say my say and sing my song.1

Another reflects the same duality:

> Got one mind for white folks to see
> 'Nother for what I know is me;
> He don't know,
> He don't know my mind.2

The Pentecostal movement was brought to birth within the

black Christian community of Los Angeles at the beginning of this century and echoed these black leitmotive. It grew at a phenominal rate, became multi-racial, split on ideological and racial lines, spread to Britain and the Caribbean, was purged of African elements by whites and reinvigorated with them by blacks, and today is represented in England by three major types. Two of these types - three-stage and Oneness - are overwhelmingly black in Britain and were transplanted here during the migration from the West Indies in the 1950s.

b.FUNDAMENTALISM & IMPLICIT THEOLOGY

Like their forebears who lived in the bondage of New World slavery and later in the institutionalised racism which endured after emancipation, the black Pentecostals in England have a substratum of implicit theology which lies beneath the ideology of white evangelical North American fundamentalism which overlays it. Ask most black Pentecostals what they believe, and they will articulate some of the 'Twenty-Nine Important Bible Truths of the Church of God of Prophecy', the thirty-four 'Doctrinal and Practical Commitments of the New Testament Church of God', or some other such statements which are based on little understood ancient creeds and a harmonisation of the Bible which seeks to establish its inerrancy. But such fundamentalism is not an authentic black understanding of Christianity.3 Rather, it is something which Pentecostalism adopted from the white Holiness and

Fundamentalist movements which developed in the United States during the late 19th Century as reactions against liberalism, biblical criticism, modernism and the social gospel. The ideologies of these movements were brought into early Pentecostalism by its white adherents, and as white supremacy was established so also was this white fundamentalist 'orthodoxy'. For all of the early Pentecostals, both black and white, these borrowed theologies were inadequate for they failed to explain the experiental and pragmatic encounter with the divine which lay at the very heart of the movement. For white Pentecostals, these inner meanings were soon attenuated, if not altogether lost, as they sought to establish their 'respectability' by conforming to fundamentalistic tenets. However, the Pentcostalism of the black diaspora, both in the United States, the Caribbean and Britain, only possesses a superficial allegiance to such fundamentalistic ideology, for at a deeper level it continues to reverberate with some of the leitmotive of black folk religion which find expression in an implicit theology.

This 'real theology' of black Pentecostalism is seldom found in what is written, rather it is expressed in what is said, sung and done. The culture of the Caribbean is primarily an oral one. This is not to suggest that West Indians necessarily lack literacy, but rather that for the majority of them - whether religious or not - the most effective and meaningful forms of communication are

generally the spoken word or the song. Intimately related to this orality of Caribbean culture is its narrativity.[4] West Indians, like their West African forebearers, are most familiar with stories, proverbs and parables. Abstract philosophical postulates are as alien to most of them as they were to those who flocked to hear the sublime words of Jesus which reflected the oral narrative methods and style of his own culture and age. Thus the theology which really matters to black Pentecostals can be heard in the oral narrative forms of the dramatic sermon, the testimony, the story, the proverb, the chorus, and even simultaneous individual praying and the account of the dream or vision. And it can be seen as black Pentecostals seek to live out the Bible both in their congregations and in the wider society.

Orality invariably prompts action rather than reflection which is engendered by textuality. Theo Witvliet notes that:

> In biblical theology the right of the firstborn is reserved for the narrative. God's love for humanity only comes into its own as narrative history... Justice should be done to the basic narrative structure of the biblical witness by means of a narrative theology: "God's humanity introduces itself into the world as a story to be told. Jesus told about God in parables before he himself was proclaimed as the parable of God."[5] In theology thought is constantly thrown back on remembering. Real remembering can only happen in the form of narrative: real remembrance implies both a temporal distance from the event and also a total involvement (not simply cerebral); the structure of the story aims at this involvement and the necessary distance.[6]

White Pentecostals generally use the Bible like

fundamentalists in other sects and denominations. For them it is primarily a mine out of which theological concepts may be dug, and a source of 'proof texts' for justifying eisegesical as well as exegesical dogma. For black Pentecostals, on the other hand, it is first and foremost the story of God working in the world in a past which is being, at least partially, relived in the present. Thus the Bible - or at least a significant part of it - forms a life-script for black Pentecostals to live out. For black Pentecostals, the text cannot be understood without a context. Only when the Bible becomes biographical - both life-script and ongoing story of God's redeeming work in history - can it be understood, not abstractly, but experientially. Biblical 'history' must become not only His story but also their story of encounter, redemption, relationship and experience of God in the present. The story of God working in and through and for His people in history - the Biblical story - comes to black Pentecostals from outside their own subjective existence. But by listening to the objective story of God's saving acts for others, and in faith accepting it as truth, it becomes part of their story. The Spirit transforms their story into His story with, of course, the danger that His story may also be transformed into their story with the risk of displacing God as the story's subject. The strident pneumatic Jesucentricity of black Pentecostals, however, tends to guard against this.

The black Pentecostals do not primarily have a hermeneutic of the Bible but an incarnation. They live the stories and experiences of the Scriptures, and their sermons, exhortations and testimonies are seldom expositions of the Book, but accounts of their experiences couched in Biblical and religious language. The Bible is meaningful in the light of their existential experience of the immanence, love and power of God, but only in so far as they find themselves living it out in the present as a 'second book of Acts'. Furthermore, because of the spontaneous nature of testimonies, exhortations and many sermons, there is seldom any reflection on their experiences. They are simply expressed in descriptions which bear the hallmarks of authenticity and carry the weight of conviction to the listeners because of this very spontaneity and lack of reflection. Their naivety is evidence that they are not contrived. At their best, these sermons, exhortations and testimonies do not merely point to the experiences of the speaker and thus to the speaker herself, but to the God of grace who is revealed in love and power; who has made himself known intimately and personally. In the words of Jurgen Moltmann, "It is not the experiences which are important but the one who has been experienced in them."7 Thus it is experience of the divine which leads to expression and praxis but to little reflection except by some radicals of the second generation.This is not to imply a chronological sequence so much as a hermeneutical hierarchy which gives primacy to experience, expression and

praxis.

Such experiences are generally interpreted by reference to the Scriptures, and the Scriptures generally interpreted in the light of such experiences but most black Pentecostals are unaware of the interpretive process. For them the present realities of the divine in their lives are simply 'located' in the Bible. That is to say, 'God did it for them then and God is doing it for us now'. Except the 'then' and 'now' are conflated because the Bible is their life-script for the present. And the 'them' and 'us' have a common identity as God's people. The Apostle Paul, for example, could have died two years, rather than two millennia ago and even now is with them and speaking through the Bible: "Brother Paul say that..." While the primal religions of West Africa and the Afro-Christian cults of Jamaica retained within the ethno-religious community a sense of the spiritual presence of the ancestors, black Pentecostalism also successfully brings the ancestors of the Church - the patriarchs, kings, prophets and apostles - into the present or the immediate past. The black Pentecostal's lack of any sense of geographical or ecumenical catholicity is offset by a temporal catholicity which brings the Church both past and future within the grasp of the present.

Like the Spiritual and the story, the black Pentecostal sermon or chorus can communicate at two levels. While

there is often an overt 'conscious' message which apparently complies with white Pentecostal fundamentalism, there may also be a parallel 'sub-conscious' theme which sets up a kind of 'sympathetic resonance' whenever the black leitmotive are touched upon. This 'sympathetic resonance' responds to those deeper levels of meaning which express the heart-felt beliefs, longings and hopes which are profoundly significant to black Pentecostals, and it is often demonstrated by a crescendo of antiphonal responses, liturgical motor behaviour or dancing which is culturally specific and expresses a behavioural as well as an ideational continuity between 'black' religion in West Africa, the Americas and Britain. Such communications also contain recognisable archetypes - symbols and images which are universal - which create echoes within the unconscious of the congregation and move them profoundly. Nor can the possibility of extrasensory perception be totally discounted.8

Black congregations respond to spoken and sung messages in two ways. The overt message is approved by nods of the head and ejaculations such as "amen", "holy", "Oh God" etc.. But a dramatic change in congregational responses takes place when the communication begins to operate on the affective 'sub-conscious' or unconscious level. As black leitmotive are expressed or archetypal symbols presented, the congregation affirm their identification with or recognition of them by a transition from cognitive to

affective; 'conscious' to 'sub-conscious'; overt level to implicit level functioning. This is not merely a quantitive increase in which verbal ejaculations become more vehement and liturgical motor behaviour and dancing more demonstrative, it is also a qualitative shift into a liturgical complex in which the Holy Spirit is perceived as communicating in and through the speakers and singers and confirming that communication as His own in "the hearts of the Saints" in a way which leads to spontaneous intuitive verbal and motor behaviour. In black Pentecostal hymnody the Holy Spirit is never thought about or believed in but experienced and felt: "I feel the Spirit moving - that's alright!" and "Every time I feel the Spirit moving in my heart I pray." This shift can also take place in response to outstanding liturgical artistry, particularly certain types of singing.

Although there is not a perfect correlation between the overt 'conscious' message and white inspired fundamentalism on the one hand, and implicit 'sub-conscious' experiential, oral and lived theology and the black leitmotive on the other, the relationships are so close as to make any separation almost meaningless. Any preaching of the fundamentalistic tenets inherited from white headquarters in the United States or retained after independence, utterly fail to evoke anything but the most restrained and cerebral responses from congregations. But themes such as freedom, the power of the Spirit, victory over the real

enemies encountered in daily life, identity as the people of God and so on, are affirmed by behaviour which arises in response to the 'vibration of chords' in the depths of their being.

The thickness of the fundamentalist ideological veneer is inversely proportional to the degree of black cultural expression which, in turn, generally varies according to the amount of white influence or black autonomy in each Pentecostal organisation. This ranges from those with white overseers in Britain and white headquarters in the United States; through those which have broken away from white domination or influence during the past thirty years to set up their own black-led organisations; to those which have black parent bodies some of which date from the beginning of the twentieth century. Among the last are many of the Oneness or "Apostolic" groups which are least concerned to conform to white fundamentalist 'orthodoxy' and maintain a cultural, liturgical, ideational and ecclesiastical identity which stands in contrast to the ambivalence of those with white parent bodies.9

Although the degree of contradiction between black and Western European aspects varies considerably in the Pentecostal organisations, this inner tension exists, to a greater or lesser extent, in them all. On the one hand, there is the authentic black spirituality which reverberates with the black leitmotive and is expressed

orally, kineticaly and practically within the community. As such it transcends sectarian commitments and unites black Pentecostals in a harmony of sympathetic themes. On the other hand, the black Pentecostals have also taken on board many aspects of Western Christianity's ideology and culture: the Puritan and Protestant ethics, utilitarianism, individualism, legalism or nomism which promotes sectarian divisions; the limitation of the grace of God and the power of the Holy Spirit so that they can only operate within defined religious structures and according to ecclesiastical rules; emphasis on personal guilt and a preoccupation with death rather than the joyful celebration of life; written "articles of faith" and systematic theologies which ignore or negate the experiential and the context in which black people find themselves.

The real theology of black Pentecostalism is not however, merely one of expression where the oral replaces the textual. On the contrary, it is primarily a theology of experience; a theology of feeling and doing; a theology of life and Spirit rather than one of the written Word; a theology which grows out of encounter with the God of Moses and of Jesus who identifies with, and is close to those who suffer in their struggle for freedom and justice (see Luke 4:18). While Western European theology is primarily cerebral and theoretical, black Pentecostal theology is affective and experiental: the theology of the emotions and the body rather than of the head alone. It is a product,

not of an abstract hermeneutic, but of a struggle to come to terms with the experience of being both Christian and black in societies and cultures where racism is reflected in the white dominated churches as well as in the secular world. Like the theology of the Bible, black Pentecostal theology is not composed of abstract postulates but is the story of God working in and through and for his people in history. Only by identifying themselves with the people of Scripture and then living out the Bible in the concrete realities of daily toil, could Christianity be made both real and relevant to every aspect of their lives. Thus all black Pentecostal implicit theology is pragmatic in the philosophical sense. It is expressed in practical consequences and thus is rooted in function rather than abstract principles.

The original basis of the Azusa Street revival, from which the Pentecostal movement sprang, was the experience of the divine which empowered people to engage in mission and live in a revolutionary way which abolished the colour line. Lack of reflection on their experiential encounter with the Spirit resulted in the adoption of existing theologies (ideologies) which interpreted such experiences in reactionary ways which subverted their original purpose. The adoption of outdated theological systems was to some degree motivated by the desire (particularly among the whites) to be respectable in the eyes of other Christians in the Holiness, evangelical and fundamentalistic camps.

Thus the early sequence of encounter - experience - praxis, gave way to ideology - experience. The explosive power to change the social world became implosive and selfish, and mission was reduced to evangelism. However, for black Pentecostals, encounter with the divine, experience, praxis and life continue to have a hermeneutical priority over both the explicit formulation of theology, which hardly occurs, and over the pre-formulated theology of inherited fundamentalism. While there is a feedback loop from theory to praxis which incorporates both fundamentalism and, more significantly, orally and practically expressed implicit theology, the priority of encounter, experience and action remains supreme. Thus the pneumatic encounter and experience of God in the black Pentecostal worshipping community has priority over all human definitions, theories and statements. Martin Simmonds, a bishop in the First United Church of Jesus Christ Apostolic, writes:

> We would have liked to see the black churches not looked upon as some kind of ecstatic group to be studied as an academic subject, but looked at for an **experience** to be shared in.10

God's action is not dependent on being pre-defined by a white headquarters or by a black pastor (or indeed by a white researcher) but the implicit oral theology does go some way towards expressing the inexpressible which also finds concrete expression in the way the "saints" live and relate to others and perceive themselves. As we discussed in chapter seven the black Pentecostals pneumatic

experience of the divine is an encounter with the love and power of God which transforms their self-image and forms the basis for faith and hope in the One who can bring the eschaton into the present. Praxis springs from this faith and hope in the God who loves and empowers them. In the words of Luther Smith, "the person seeks a commitment worthy of the knowledge acquired from the experience. Only by an appropriate response to the vision will the individual and corporate life find fulfilment."[11]

Black Pentecostal implicit theology is a theology of faith, hope, love, life, relationships, struggle and triumph. Like black liberation theology it stands in judgement upon the white abstract literary theologies which claim universal validity yet are blind to their contextual determinants which legitimise, or at least fail to challenge, the status quo in which black people are degraded. Its challenge to white theology, like its very nature, is implicit. It is seldom articulated. Most black Pentecostals - in common with most white Christians - have no knowledge of academic theology and little or no wish to obtain that knowledge. Thus the challenge of black Pentecostalism to white theology lies in totally ignoring it. It is irrelevant. Few of the first generation had the prerequisite education to understand it and most of the intellectuals of the second generation judge such ideology to be of so little value that it may be ignored, for it has failed (with a few notable exceptions) to meet the needs or relate to the

lives of black Pentecostals in any positive way. Of course, some white academic theologians (Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Jurgen Moltmann and Reinhold Niebuhr for example) have written books which the radical black Pentecostals of the second generation will probably find to be highly relevant but it will take them time to find these 'pearls among the ashes'. Many of those who are exploring the relevance of some 'white' theology for black Pentecostalism have studied at the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership in Birmingham.

White theology is produced by individual professional theologians working within the constraints of 'normal' theology - to borrow a term from Thomas Kuhn.12 That is to say, the parameters of what is considered to be theologically acceptable are determined by those academics who have power to impose a theological hegemony. Furthermore, the vast majority of such theorising is far removed from the beliefs of most church members and bears little relation to their lives or their needs. In fact, most 'ordinary Christians', both black and white, are as ignorant of academic theology as they are of nuclear physics or palaeontology. The academic theologian, erroneously believing himself to be working autonomously and objectively, has effectively hijacked and reversed the methodology of the earliest churches which, like the black Pentecostals, produced their theology out of encounter and experience rather than seeking to transpose

abstract concepts into praxis. Furthermore, the pseudo-universalism of much white theology masks the reality that it is contextually specific just as black theology and the theologies of liberation are.

For black Pentecostals, on the other hand, (who have no power in the halls of academic theology) theology is a product of community. Theology has been democratised as the possession, not of an academic elite but of the people, and is expressed in life, song, story and community. For black Pentecostals there is no privileged upper stratum of theologians who claim to speak on behalf of the whole Church. Of course, a few white Pentecostals try to but they have little credibility. Among black Pentecostals there is no 'ecclesia activa' distinct from an 'ecclesia passiva'. In the future, black Pentecostal theology may be articulated, systematised and textualised by black Pentecostal theologians from the second generation, but it will only remain relevant to the community of faith as long as it truly reflects their grass-root experience of the divine. It must be experienced and lived **before** it can be reflected upon and finally written about. "Black theological reflection," state the National Conference of Black Churchmen (in the United States), "takes place in the context of the authentic experience of God in the Black worshipping community."[13] As James Cone says: "there is no truth for and about black people that does not emerge out of the context of their experience"[14] and Luther Smith,

summarising Howard Thurman, stresses that:

> the destiny of the community is tied to the ability of individuals to have a "proper sense of self," and a proper sense of self is dependent upon religious experience [which]... is inexpendable to the development of a theology which properly defines the humanity, political activity, and communal destiny of black people.15

The indications are that when black Pentecostals do articulate a theology which grows out of reflection on their particular life context and their encounter with and experience of the divine, it will be more than a survival theology for the black community but will have a universality which grows out of its particularity because second generation black Pentecostals find themselves in solidarity with other oppressed groups.16 Like the theology of the black church during slavery it is primarily a theology of survival in which are the seeds for the potential theology of liberation which may emerge with the possibility of social, economic and political power.17 For the first generation the need to survive was prepotent. With the survival need met, some of the second generation can channel their energies towards achieving other goals.

To systematise and reduce the implicit theology of the black Pentecostals to writing however - as we will see in the next chapter - may create three problems: it may tend to fix what is essentially fluid and thus inhibit the ongoing pneumatic reinterpretation which ensures continuing relevance; it may detach it from the life of the Spirit by reducing orality to the written text; and it may detach it

from the life of the people. A fourth danger, and one which I must seek to avoid, is the tendency for theorising to reduce reality to concepts, life to models and people to categories. There are other dangers if black Pentecostals are to articulate their implicit theology. The language, concepts and modes of thought which will be used to make black Pentecostal theology explicit will - at least in the early stages - be those of the dominant and oppressive culture, and consequently to some extent the expression may be alien to that which is expressed. This articulation will not be primarily for the purpose of communication with black people because such channels already exist in the black community: music, song, antiphonal responses, preaching, story telling, testifying, praying, liturgical movement and other non verbal channels which operate at an intuitive level. The primary purpose of articulation will be the stimulation of processes where reflection takes place and the implications of this implicit and lived theology are worked through in terms of the wider social, economic and political contexts in which black people find themselves in Britain. Some white theologians will undoubtedly appreciate this but it will not be done for their benefit. To tie the self articulation and analysis of black Pentecostal theology to existing methods will be to imprison it within the walls of white theological and ideological hegemony. The language of white Western theology is quite different from that of black Pentecostalism. While common terms may sometimes be used,

their meaning is often different. It is therefore not surprising that both generally misunderstand what the other is saying on those rare occasions when they meet and bother to listen to each other. Only when people from both traditions become bi-lingual can anything greater than a superficial understanding develop, and only if whites develop an oral appreciation and blacks a textual one.

Of what then does this theology of experience comprise? It relates very closely to the leitmotive which have echoed forth again and again in the religion of the black diaspora. These themes were retained in the New World because they functioned in ways which aided the physical and psychological survival of black people in a hostile environment and they have continued to serve such purposes for the first generation of Caribbean settlers in Britain. The implicit theology of the black Pentecostals is, however, not a system but a process; not a set of questions, answers or postulates but a dynamic matrix of values, themes, ideals and hopes which find expression in life, praxis, oral expression and black liturgical artistry.

c. THE REDEEMED AND REDEMPTIVE COMMUNITY

Perhaps the most comprehensive theological concept which is woven into the total substratum, is that of the redeemed and redemptive community.[18] This idea is evident in the

primal religion of West Africa and among the black Christians of America. The overt message of Pentecostalism, however, emphasises the individual's responsibility to "get right with God", to "keep saved", to "stay holy" and "be filled with the Holy Ghost". In writing and preaching about the ordo salutis, Pentecostals very seldom recognise that the redemption of the individual almost always occurs within the Pentecostal community.[19] It is through this community that conviction is experienced. It is before the members of this community that the penitent demonstrates his or her remorse and repentance. It is the community which embraces individuals and thus brings them the assurance of God's forgiveness and acceptance; and within this community they experience and demonstrate the presence of the Spirit in their lives. To be saved and remain saved the black Pentecostal must be in community and have its support. This is well expressed by the phrase so often used by the elderly (especially in Oneness congregations) to close their testimony: "I mean to continue, so you pray for me as I pray for myself, in Jesus name," or, as one black pastor pointed out to me, to watch 'Songs of Praise' on television is ineffective, one must be involved with others.[20] Western Christianity with its individualistic emphasis reflects Descartes' statement of self-consciousness: "I think, therefore I am." "But," writes Max Warren, "there is another alternative to the intellectualism of 'I think, therefore I am', which [Western] Christians certainly ought not to have forgotten,

though in the main they have done so. The alternative is 'I belong, therefore I am'. And it is this alternative which has the been the dynamic idea which has hitherto dominated and defined the cultural life of Asia and Africa."21 For black Pentecostals this leitmotiv continues to have ontological significance.

Nor is the redemptive community locked up in a church building. It is very much the 'yeast in the dough', for most black Pentecostals have a strong sense of mission as they try to live out the Bible in the English inner city. Both in meetings for worship and in their daily lives they are conscious of their identity and value as God's people. They perceive themselves and the rest of the congregation as the saints of the Most High and in doing so they are granted a dignity and a pride which allows them to transcend the low status and menial occupations which are imposed upon many of them. The black congregation sings:

> The victory that I have,
> The world can't give it to me.
> The world can't have it;
> The world can't give it;
> The world can't take it away!

This victory is more than personal release from sin or guilt. It is an affirmation of the triumph of the worshipping community over the fragmented and alienating society around them.

> Victory is mine,
> Victory is mine,
> Victory today is mine;
> I told the devil,
> Get thee behind,

Victory today is mine![22]

In the experiences of conversion, baptism and Spirit infilling the black settler underwent a transition from death to life; crucifixion to resurrection; the rejection of white society to the loving acceptance of the community of the "Saints".

d. THE PARTICIPATIVE & INTEGRATIVE WORSHIPPING COMMUNITY

The redemptive community is also a participative and integrative community which affirms the intrinsic value of its members, and in so doing affirms that they are of value to themselves and to God. At its best, the black congregation allows, and indeed encourages, all to participate no matter how limited their abilities. Thus in playing musical instruments, singing, clapping, swaying, dancing, jerking, shouting, praying, testifying, exhorting, preaching, teaching, speaking in tongues, leading, governing, evangelising, building, decorating, sewing, cooking, cleaning, fund raising, mini-bus maintenance and driving, caretaking, ad infinitum, all are recognised as contributing something of value to the worshipping community and in so doing they serve God. Even preaching a sermon is generally a participative activity involving the whole congregation as those in the pews respond to, echo, prompt or preempt the preacher.

> Oh let us pull, pull, pull together;
> Let us pray, pray, pray together;
> For their's coming a time,
> When we all shall be together;
> So let us get together now.

Such participation reinforces the individual's commitment to the congregation of which he or she is a functioning integral part.[23]

For the first generation of settlers, the ability to do something well paled into insignificance compared with the sincerity of the worshipper. So, for example, the little old lady with the cracked voice who forgot half the words of her out of key solo, 'brought the house down' as the congregation responded with a spontaneous burst of praise and applause. The illiterate preacher who picked on a young women in the congregation to read a passage from the Bible verse by verse while he gave alternating expositions, was able to sway the whole congregation inspite of the fact that he sometimes misheard what was said and thus preached on texts which are not found in the Scripture.[24] One pastor preached on "mammal" when he misread "mammon" and was still affirmed with a "praise the Lord" from the congregation.[25] Those who read the scriptures during the service are often prompted over the difficult words by the rest of the congregation. An elderly women who began her testimony with,"Minister, saints, visiting brethren I worship (sic) you in the name of Jesus," received no censure, for everyone knew she meant to say "greet".[26] The Sunday School teacher who declared that Theophilus was a Jewish High Priest, retained the respect of her adult class inspite of the sideways glances which indicated that at

least some of her students knew better.[27] The choir at a Oneness convention made their minister visible squirm with their spirited rendering of "Holy, holy, holy... God in Three Persons, Blessed Trinity" but the applause was in no way lessened by their theological gaff.[28] Repetative, habitual ejaculations of praise often punctuate sermons and testimonies. These are used to gain time to think of what to say next and can average as many as eleven per minute. The fact that these can be nonsensical because of the context is seldom noticed by first generation members of the congregation:

> You can go to the party and get drunk - praise God!
>
> You will go to hell - praise God![29]
>
> And the Lord said, I'm sick of this - praise the Lord![30]

On another occasion a women testified:

> The devil's been on my back this week - bless His Holy name!

Thus, for the first generation of black Pentecostals in Britain, to sing, testify, preach or pray was a liberating experience. Neither the words nor the music were to be judged too harshly but rather the sincerity of the worshipper. However the second generation, and some younger members of the first, are becomming increasingly intolerant and judgmental of the semi-literate, inarticulate and unmelodious. Many of the young openly mock the errors, language, motor behaviour and liturgical style of the older generation and a few express shame at their parents' "lack of education". During one service a

59 year old woman preached in 'patois' (creole) and followed up her sermon by dancing round in front of the pulpit, falling to her knees in prayer, bursting forth in glossolalia and continuing to shout, "hallelujah! hallelujah!" at the top of her voice, while the next speaker - a woman in her late teens - attempted to make herself heard. The younger woman, who was very articulate and polished in her speech, may have been to some degree responding to my presence as a white researcher, but her reaction typifies the attitude of the majority of the second generation towards certain behaviours of the first. "As we're in this country," she declared, "we should speak the best English we can!"31

This generation gap was recognised by a former white American overseer of the Church of God of Prophecy in Britain who, in his 1982 annual address, called for a "cease fire" between the two generations.

> We can continue as we are: Two congregations in every local Church. Old on one side, young on the other. We can continue to doubt and distrust each other. We can continue to have two value systems in the Church, and two standards of which (sic) we are expected to live. Or, we can sit down and reason together about our problems and differences. We can come to the conclusion that there are good parts and bad parts of both the English and West Indian customs. We can reject the bad in both and embrace the good. We can come to the conclusion that we are all in the same Church... That means to give and take on both sides. We must become as Paul who said "I become all things to all men..." This is not time to cast accusations or recriminations. This is the time for our young people to respect our older people, and learn from them. Their years in most cases have brought the wisdom that we need. This is the time for our older people to encourage our young people. Try to

> understand their frustrations. Be patient with them. I am calling for a cease fire on both sides. I am asking for a reconciliation, a healing, a coming together in one mind and one accord."[32]

This statement highlights some of the problems between the generations which threaten to undermine the participative community and limit the acceptability of some members' contributions. What he failed to recognise, however, is the central importance of that community in affirming both the intrinsic value of its members and also the value of their diverse ministries which are under some degree of threat from the second generation and from the more acculturatedleaders of the first.

White's successor neither perceived the nature or enormity of the problem and did nothing to deal with it. However the next national overseer to be sent by the American Headquarters, Van Deventer, quickly became aware of the situation and made himself available to listen to what the young radicals had to say. This in itself made him unpopular with some of the older pastors who began to perceive him as a potential threat. Their sense of unease increased as he tightened up the financial accounting system, planned to re-shuffle several of the older district overseers and thus move them from their power bases,[33] and encouraged the development of leaders from the second generation. Several of the first generation leaders - who stood to lose their power, prestige and large church buildings - made a concerted effort to discredit Van

Deventer and ultimately succeeded in having him replaced. The next appointee, however, was not another white North American but a second generation black, British educated Barbadian. In his parting sermon to one of the largest of the CoGoP congregations, Van Deventer stressed the need for the "old guard" to listen to and take account of the second generation.

Inspite of this generation gap, children and young people are fully integrated and share in much of the culturally defined liturgy of their parents. Mature adults participate in young peoples' services and vice versa, and it is difficult to find anything which distinguishes the one from the other. While the songs of the first generation owe something to Sankey and those of the second reflect more the black American Gospel style, both generations relate to and participate in both.

Lest a false impression be created, I should add that by citing examples in order to demonstrate the first generation Pentecostal congregation's acceptance of members' contributions regardless of 'quality' is not to imply that such 'quality' is lacking. On the contrary, the black Pentecostal community is a sympathetic milieu for the development and expression of outstanding creativity, artistry and leadership in the black liturgical tradition.

Singing in particular has a powerfull integrative function

which draws the individual into a sense of organic belonging. The antiphonal style in particular creates a dialogical relationship between individuals and the community. Songs are the possession of both the individual and the collective and are made such by the improvisation and augmentation of both words and tunes which transform even white hymnody into authentic black expression.

This worshipping community, also has a powerful integrative dynamic which not only incorporates individuals but also draws together past, present and future; God and man; the supernatural and the natural. The past of the Bible is brought into the present and relived. For the first generation, the Caribbean past is also incorporated into their British present. The future in terms of the eschatological hope to be inaugurated by the Second Advent of Christ is perceived as so immminent that it has almost arrived: "This world of trouble and depression - we're soon going to leave it!" preaches a young women.[34] The older generation sing with great enthusiasm:

> Just a little while to stay here;
> Just a little while to wait.
> Just a little while to labour,
> In the path thats always straight
> Then we'll enter heaven's portals,
> Sweeping through the pearly gates.[35]
>
> We'll soon be done with troubles and trials,
> In that bright home on the other side;
> I'm gonna shake glad hands with the elders,
> And tell all my kindred "Good morning",
> Then I'm gonna sit down beside my Jesus,
> Sit down and rest a little while.[36]
>
> Some day the'll be no more sorrow,

Some day we'll walk hand in hand,
Some day, maybe tomorrow,
We'll walk together in the promised land.[37]

Not here for long,
We'll soon be leaving,
This old world of sin and woe;
Up above the sky we'll go.
Not for long, we'll soon be leaving,
For the Saviour soon will come and take us home.[38]

I've got a mansion just over the hilltop,
In that bright land where we'll never grow old,
And someday yonder, we'll never more wander,
But walk the streets that are paved with gold.[39]

Jesus is coming soon,
Morning or night or noon,
Many will meet their doom,
Trumpet will sound;
All of the dead shall rise;
Righteous meet in the skies;
Going where no one dies;
Heavenward bound![40]

The eternal bliss of heaven, however, is so like a Pentecostal convention as to be almost indistinguishable. Thus the future is brought very much into the present as an inaugurated eschatology:

Sign me up for the Christian's jubilee,
Write my name on the roll,
I've been changed since the Lord have lifted me,
I wanna be ready when Jesus comes.[41]

And even more descriptive:

Won't we have a time, when we get over yonder,
Won't we have a time, when we get over yonder,
Won't we have a time, when we get over yonder,
Won't, won't we have a time.
We'll sing and shout and dance about when we get over yonder,
We'll sing and shout and dance about when we get over yonder,
We'll sing and shout and dance about when we get over yonder,
Won't, won't we have a time.

Oh what singing! Singing!
Oh what shouting! Shouting!
On that happy morning when we all shall rise;

Oh what glory! Glory! Hallelujah!
When we meet our blessed saviour in the skies.[42]

We shall have a grand time;
We shall have a grand time up in heaven;
Have a grand time;
Talking with the angels, shouting hallelujah!
We shall have a grand time up in heaven;
Have a grand time.[43]

In worship the black Pentecostal congregation reaches out to grasp a future and rejoices in experiencing a foretaste of the powers of the coming age.[44] Into the gulf between daily life experience and eschatological hope, the black congregation brings an inaugurated eschatology linking present with future, and negative life experiences with hope for tomorrow. The future is brought into the present, for those who will one day "walk and talk with Jesus" are the children of God, the "Saints of the Most High" right now even though unrecognised as such by the wider society. There is little or nothing in everyday life experience to bridge that gulf. Hope for a glorious future is rooted, not in mundane life but in the pneumatic experience of the divine within the worshipping community which challenges the negative aspects of daily toil and the negative personal evaluations by self and others with the assurance that things will be better in the future. Furthermore, the one who has promised a glorious future has provided an experiential, pneumatic foretaste of that future in the present worshipping community.

The evidence of their faith and hope in God is justified and founded on the experiences of liberation, power,

identity, relationship and purpose. These bridge the gulf between crucifixion and resurrection; between history and eschatology:

> Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.
> But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit... that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God (1 Corinthians 2:9-12KJV)

The black Pentecostal has "tasted... the powers of the coming age" (Hebrews 6:5) and received the "seal" of the "Holy Spirit, who is the pledge (foretaste and guarantee) of their inheritance" (Ephesians 1:14), the complete possession of which is yet to come. The complexities of white Pentecostal dispensationalism, pre-millenialism and the scenarios associated with them are seldom understood, rarely preached about and, in the main, totally irrelevant to the majority of black Pentecostals even though they are generally retained as part of the 'official teaching' of the organisation.

The worshipping community draws God and man; the spiritual and material; the supernatural and natural together into an interactionary whole. In this worshipping community, black Christians interact at all levels of being: conscious and unconscious; cerebral and affectual; with heart and soul and mind and body. Sermons are preached not only at a conscious level using the oral channel but also using to a greater extent, and to much greater effect than Europeans, the sub-conscious, non-verbal and paralinguistic channels.

Gestures, facial expressions, certain types of motor behaviour and the intonation of the voice play their part in communicating at the implicit sub-conscious level. Most black preachers are masters of the art of holistic communication and Jamaicans are particularly adept at reading this paralinguistic channel. Verbal and non-verbal; the communicator and his message are blended together, for the sermon is not something abstract or external to the preacher but part of his very being. In this face to face situation the sincerity of the messenger as well as the validity of his message will be assessed together.[45] However, this holistic communication 'method' by itself fails to account for the 'excitement' stirred up by such preachers. The 'resonant frequency' is only found when both 'method' and implicit message are in harmony with the sentiments of the congregation. Furthermore, the preaching of black Pentecostal pastors is replete with symbols and analogies (many of them archetypical) which communicate to the unconscious. Conversely, abstract concepts which cannot be grasped by this level of the mind are generally completely lacking.[46] As the preaching, testifying, music, rhythms, heterophonus singing, responses and simultaneous extempore praying combine together into a gestalt, God is experienced as immanent and the "Spirit moves". This communal and integrative worship liberates the worshippers and opens them up to the power of the divine. The constraints and inhibitions of the mundane fall away and they experience a cathartic liberation to express

themselves fully in devotion to God.

The cohesion of the worshipping community is brought about, not only with the formation and maintenance of social relationships at the conscious level but also at the unconscious or intuitive level of the mind, for black Pentecostal congregations are also pneumatic communities bound together by the shared experiences of the Spirit which occur below the level of consciousness and are externalised in non-rational (but not necessarily irrational) behaviour such as glossolalia, dance and other liturgical motor behaviour. Augustin's concept of the Holy Spirit as the bond of love within the Trinitarian being of God is a lived theology among black Pentecostals who have never heard of Augustine, have little or no understanding of the Trinity and at a practical level find the concept redundant.

To a great extent it is worship which 'makes' individuals into a church. In the words of James Dunn, who was referring to the Apostle Paul's concept of the local church as the body of Christ:

> The body of Christ comes to expression, lives and moves, through the mutual interplay of gifts and ministries, the diversity of manifestations being integrated into a unity of purpose and character by the controlling Spirit of Christ. But this means that **the body of Christ comes to visible expression pre-eminently in and through worship...**[47]

The similarity between Corinthian and black Pentecostal Christianity is striking. Both have a democratisation of

worship which means that, under the prompting of the Spirit, each

> contributes a hymn, some instruction, a revelation, and ecstatic utterance, or the interpretation of such an utterance [1 Corinthians 14:26, NEB].

It is also noteworthy that in John's gospel the formalised worship of Jerusalem and Gerizim - which related to ideas of correct location, tradition and ceremony - is rejected in favour of "worship in Spirit and truth" (John 4:23,24).

The message/meaning dichotomy also functions in a way which affirms the black Pentecostal sense of community. The black preacher can tell a story (or parable) and because of the shared social and psychological contexts, ideas and meanings within the congregation, he is assured that the hermenutical process will bring his hearers into both a common understanding and a sense of intimacy and community which is engendered by insight into the meaning behind the metaphoricity which is unattainable to the outsider.

Spoken or sung words - including glossolalia - sounded by one person, enter others. Not only the ears but the whole person is permeated by sound so that what is emitted by one is internally experienced by all. Thus sounded words link the interiority of individuals and enhance - or indeed create - the bonding of community. United by the internalised power of sounded words, the black Pentecostal congregation glorify God "with one heart and mouth" (Romans 15:6). Where the spoken word is, there is, **koinonia**

(Galatians 6:6; Philippians 1:5) Speakers and hearers; he who calls and those who respond; message and implicit meaning; preacher and sermon blend into a oneness in which such distinctions are blurred - distinctions between messenger and message; the knower and the known are lost (cf 1Corinthians 1:12) - and the totality is experienced and ascribed to the immanence of God as the Spirit of Jesus.[48]

e. THE LIBERATING COMMUNITY

The number of sermons, testimonies and songs which refer to this freedom, and the way in which worshippers respond to this theme, belies the idea that it refers only to the evangelical concept of freedom from personal sin. "Feel free to worship God in the Spirit: where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty" enjoins Pastor Matthews.[49] "Thank God I'm free," testifies a middle aged woman.[50] "I'm feeling free," shouts another. [51] "Worship God freely; worship him any way He wants you to," exhorts a girl of about 14.[52] "I have been set free and my desire is to remain free," declares an older man.[53] This freedom, while it does include the idea of release from personal sin, guilt and the fear of death also embraces the psychological and cultural liberation which allows black Pentecostals to be authentic in community worship. The tunes, tempos and words of traditional hymns are changed and embellished with a radical liberty and creative self confidence. To testify or sing is a liberating experience during which the first generation affirm the speaker's or singer's personhood and

dignity. The shackles of self doubt and the constraints of pressure to conform to the expectations of an unsympathetic white society are cast off. The worshippers are free to be culturally and liturgically black; free to be themselves before God and their fellows; free to let go of the worries and cares of the mundane and to participate in the supernatural and the divine; free to allow emotions, mind and body to be overwhelmed by the presence and power of the Holy Spirit; free to contribute to, and participate in, the worshipping community without feeling shame or fearing judgement because of inadequacies in terms of literacy, articulation or musical ability; freedom to be the children of God - the Saints of the Most High - inspite of the approbation of the wider society."Hallelujah!" shouts a sister, "I'm feeling free!"

> My shackles are gone, my spirit is free;
> Oh praise the Lord, He lifted me;
> My sins are forgiven,
> And now I am free.
> Oh praise the Lord my shackles are gone my spirit is free.[54]

Sing the United Church of God. Another congregation sings:

> He set me free one day;
> He set me free.
> He broke the bonds of prison for me.
> I'm glory bound my Jesus to see;
> For glory to God,
> He set me free.[55]

While there are often verbal and physical demonstrations of psychological and cultural liberation which accompany these choruses, others actually associate these expressions with freedom. The United Church of God also sing:

> I feel like running, skipping, praising the Lord,

For all He's done for me;
He sets my spirit free.
I feel like running, skipping, praising the Lord,
For all He's done for me.[56]

The first generation black Pentecostal congregations demonstrate a theology of liberation which gives a fuller meaning to the words of Jesus: "If the Son sets you free, you will be free indeed."[57] This experiential theology of freedom has some remarkable points of similarity with that of both the Liberation theologians and the neo-Pentecostal or charismatic movement.[58] Similarly 20th century black American theology reflects much of the black leitmotive in it's call for black liberation; it's protest against inequality and white domination; it's concern with the "problematic nature of human existence", black dignity, self respect and community; and it's articulation of hope for an oppressed people.[59] Theo Witvliet summarises the three levels of significance in the concept of liberation analysed by liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez. Levels which,

> though distinct, cannot be separated. These levels are:
> 1. socio-political and economic liberation, where liberation is an expression of the struggle and the desire of peoples, groups and classes who live in situations of injustice and oppression;
> 2. liberation of humanity in the course of history; this level, the cultural and anthropological level, is an indication of the way in which people are actively realizing themselves in the whole process of history and growing towards a new humanity;
> 3. liberation from sin and guilt and entering into fellowship with God; on this level which Gutierrez calls theological, it becomes clear how history and eschatology are related: liberation from sin also implies political liberation (first level) and liberation in the course of history (second level); however, it is not exhausted by this for "without

> liberating historical events, there would be no growth of the Kingdom. But the process of liberation will not have conquered the very roots of oppression and the exploitation of man by man, without the coming of the Kingdom, which is above all a gift."[60]

For most black Pentecostals level three is explicit. Level two is a reality which is expressed but still at the implicit level: it has not yet been reflected upon except by a very few second generation radicals and even fewer from the first generation. Level one, unlike the Afro-American liberation theologians, is not yet even implicit among many first and second generation black Pentecostals. Political liberation in particular tends to be relegated by the black groups who have white bishops, to the taboo category of "worldly behaviour". Genuinely black-led groups are often ambivalent but generally demonstrate rather more awareness of and commitment to political involvement. The groups which are most politically aware and involved are generally the all-black Oneness sects which are also the least a-culturated section of the black Pentecostal movement. However, a minority in both generations, even of the groups with white headquarters, have, during the last decade, begun to express political views and manifest a desire to engage in political activities. The most vociferous, who are almost exclusively from the second generation, are generally marginalised by the first generation leaders and denied positions of authority within the congregations. Others are able to 'talk politics' yet remain acceptable to the leadership by avoiding the use of overtly political

terminology. Ask many of the second generation Pentecostals if they are political and they will flatly deny it, but ask them what they think of the situation in South Africa, or the death of Clinton McCurbin in Wolverhampton and the answers will often be highly political.

Black Pentecostal implicit theology is not 'liberation theology' in the sense that this term is used to describe a genre of theology which specifically addresses the significance of the gospel for the socio-political emancipation of the oppressed. However, it may well be somewhere along the road to generating such a theology. Among the second generation, the 'conformists' refuse to break with the superficially held fundamentalistic tradition of their parents; the 'rebels' break completely and leave to pursue socio-political and economic liberation outside of the black Pentecostal movement; many of the 'radicals', though often but not invariably marginalised, are poised to articulate a theology of experience and praxis which the first generation have lived but not reflected upon.[61] While cultural 'indigenisation' has taken place to varying degrees in the black churches, and some contextualisation has meant that the specific situation of black people in Britain has begun to be addressed, the kind of all embracing contextualisation which addresses social and economic problems from a theo-political perspective is still lacking.

As radicals begin to throw off the inhibiting effects of white North American Pentecostal fundamentalist ideology and begin to reflect on the implicit theology and praxis of their movement, there must also be reflection on the sociological facts of their status and role within society and the power structures which determine the social, economic and political position of black people in Britain and beyond. Failure to reflect on both theology and context, and to see the connections between them will result in either a loss of relevance or a loss of Christian identity. Theological reflection which is not contextualised becomes guilty of pseudo-universalism and is a denial of God's saving work in history. Sociological analysis which is divorced from the humanity of God in Jesus of Nazareth and the omnipotence of God in the exalted Christ becomes the province of the rebels for whom Christian identity has become irrelevant. Only by what Witvliet refers to as the principle of "Chalcedon" can liberation develop from an experience in the worshipping community into the wider context of socio-political liberation. Only when theology and context; God and history are both "unconfused and undivided"[62] can the praxis of black Pentecostals extend from practical love in community into the larger arena of political involvement. Because it is at the cross where God and history are seen most starkly as "unconfused and undivided", any theology which seeks to relate God's saving work to the life experience of black people must be a theology of the cross.

This we will consider more fully in a subsequent section.

While it is generally left to the marginalised radicals of the second generation to begin articulating political views, there is a minority, and perhaps even a majority in some congregations, of first generation Pentecostals who privately hold similar views. For both the silent radicals of the first generation and the young radicals of the second, there is increasingly a dual emphasis on liberation not only **from** history but **in** history. Out of the apocalyptic eschatological themes which are married to an inaugurated eschatology is developing an increasing concern - particularly during the last decade - for social, economic and even political liberation. Gradually an awareness is developing that social and economic liberation cannot be divorced from political means and political liberation. The 'white' individualistic concept of personal salvation is not exhaustive for black implicit soteriology which constantly stresses the salvific nature of the worshipping community. Saved individuals form the saved and saving community. Freedom for the individual is also related to the liberated and liberating community.

For a few of the aculturated leaders of the first generation and many of the second generation some of the culturally specific behaviour associated with this freedom is neither understood nor approved. There is evidence however that they will retain the inner meanings if not the

outward expressions for this freedom is not only demonstrated outwardly in unrestrained and culturally specific liturgical behaviour, it is also experienced as an affective reality which is understood theologically as an aspect of the indwelling presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Both the manifestations and the pneumatic experiences occur almost exclusively within the worshipping community, and four ideas are closely related in this respect: the immanence of God, an experiental soteriology and pneumatology, an inclusive charismatology and a pragmatic spirituality.

f. THE IMMANENCE OF GOD

The black Pentecostal's theology of immanence is exemplified by the 1611 King James rendering of Psalm 22:3, God "...inhabitest the praises of Israel." Or as one worship leader put it: "Praise God until you feel Him." The presence of God is experienced by the congregation as the worshippers invoke the Divine presence by building an acoustic tabernacle of praise for God to dwell in. The rhythmic singing, clapping, participative preaching, praying, glossolalia and sympathetic resonances blend together into a gestalt in which the presence of God is recognised and experienced. Oral narrativity, in particular, can create an atmosphere in which that which is spoken about is brought into being (a 'creative word') and thus participated in and experienced by the hearers.

It's coming down, down, down;

It's coming down.
The glory of the Lord is coming down.
When the saints begin to pray,
Then the Lord will have His way,
And the glory of the Lord is coming down.

"God's not dead, He's still alive," sing the Pentecostals,

I can feel Him in my hands,
I can feel Him in my feet,
I can feel Him;
I can feel Him all over me.
I can feel God all over.
I can feel God all over.
I can feel God all over...and so on.

"My God is real," testifies a middle age woman, "I can feel Him in my soul."[63] Others sing:

Real, real, real, He's so real to me.
I love Him, for He gives me the victory.
So many people doubt Him,
But I can't live without Him;
That is why I love Him so,
'Cause He's so real to me.

While all Christians acknowledge Christ in their midst "where two or three come together" in His name, for black Pentecostals this is an experiental and existential reality which transcends rational categories.[64] Werner Kelber, writing of the pre-Markan orality of the early Church, describes the relationship between the spoken word and the sense that Jesus is immanent:

> This phenomenon of consummating presence is contingent on oral language and a specific feature of oral, prophetic language. Texts are signs practising the deferment of signified, but spoken words discourage reflection on meaning as something apart from utterance. Operating without transposition into objectified visible form, sound tends to keep language from falling apart into signified and signifier. The resultant effect of sounded words is one of powerful presence... voice exists only at the moment of speaking, tending to make present the reality it is referring to. This "absolute proximity of voice and being, of voice and the meaning of

> being"[65] links oral words with a whole metaphysics of presence and parousia.[66]

Kelber returns to this theme as he considers Q:

> What must be emphasised is that the principle of the presence of the living Lord is an intrinsic feature of **oral** hermeneutic. In so far as **logoi** constitute the primary unit of oral tradition, the presence of the living Lord is inseperable from the linguistic ontology of the genre itself.[67]

Thus for the early Church, as for the black Pentecostals today, Jesus is present in His words as they are sounded in the midst of His people. Jesus is spoken of and sung about as the personal friend and helper who is present at the moment of articulation:

> Have a little talk with Jesus,
> Tell Him all about your trouble...
> Just a little talk with Jesus makes it right.

And the Church of God of Prophecy sing:

> No, never alone!
> No, never alone;
> He promised never to leave me;
> Never to leave me alone.[68]

Like their liturgy, the black Pentecostal encounter with God is holistic. Emotions and body and mind are all committed to worship, and the immanence of the divine is felt inwardly and demonstrated physically; known intuitively and confessed orally; in a way which integrates both the total personality of the individual, and the individual into the gestalt of the worshipping community.

Evangelism and "witnessing" to "sinners" have something of a ritual significance for black Pentecostals but, with few exceptions, utterly fail to gain converts to Christianity

or adherents to their congregations because they are primarily cognitive activities. The effective 'tool' of mission is almost invariably the awareness of the presence of the divine which visitors experience in black Pentecostal worship. "Saints" bring members of their extended families, friends, colleagues from work and neighbours to services, usually after an extensive period of low-key discussion or 'pre-evangelism'. Such initial contacts are almost invariably personal and face-to-face.[69] As these visitors feel God to be present in liberating and healing power, they are drawn into the milieu where this is experienced. They are touched by the love and the concert of sympathies which binds the congregation together, and by the language of symbols which communicates to the unconscious. As they share in worship they become increasingly drawn into these sub-conscious relationships with the congregation and with the divine.

g. UNINFLUENTIAL TRINITARIANISM AND PNEUMATIC CHRISTOLOGY

Because there is generally a close relationship between implicit theology and function, is not to suggest that the explicit doctrinal statements, adopted from white fundamentalists, are necessarily either irrelevant or disfunctional. On the contrary, the doctrine of the Trinity, for example, has a positive function for the three-stage (Church of God) groups and yet it is contradicted by their implicit theology.

While there are more than forty-four thousand black Trinitarian Pentecostals in Britain, comprising some 68% of the movement, there are also about twenty-one and a half thousand (32%) black Oneness or "Apostolic" Pentecostals who adhere to a modalistic view of the Godhead.[70] Inspite of the fact that each considers the other to be in serious error, they are much closer to each other in practise than they are in 'official' doctrine. All black Pentecostal liturgy is primarily Jesucentric but all worship is in practise Spirit centred.

Black Pentecostals of both types (like their white co-religionists) are generally totally ignorant of the theological controversies which led to the formulation of the Trinity as a reaction to early Christological heresies. For the three-stage organisations, the Trinity is generally articulated in crudely anthropomorphic terms with the word "Persons" understood and defined in accordance with modern (non-theological) usage.[71] In this form it is indefensible, yet it is defended with great vigour against the (often valid) criticisms of the Oneness advocates, for it functions as part of an ideological matrix which defines corporate identity in terms of an in-group/out-group dichotomy. It also establishes a kind of ecclesiastical respectability and forms part of a doctrinal 'security blanket'. Yet in spite of all this the doctrine of the Trinity contributes nothing to the practical and experiental theology of the three-stage wing of the black

Pentecostal movement. While there are occasional Trinitarian statements incorporated into some of the more formal bits of liturgy, they lack any depth of meaning or significance for the majority of worshippers. In practise, distinctions between the "three Persons" are completely lost in worship, for when the gestalt begins to function, God is immanent, "the Spirit moves" and the community becomes oblivious, not only to Trinitarian distinctions within the Godhead but to the majority of their superficially adopted white fundamentalism. The overwhelming majority of gospel songs, like the Negro spirituals, make no distinction between Jesus and God the Father and the majority of the former in fact rarely address either the Father or the Holy Spirit. While it is only the Oneness Pentecostals who assert that "the Godhead is in Jesus", the modern songs of both types of Pentecostalism express the same Jesucentricity.

> Jesus is precious;
> He is so precious;
> Jesus is precious to me.
> He is my Saviour,
> Lord and my Master;
> Jesus is precious to me.72

Sing the New Testament Church of God. While liturgical emphasis on the "Name of Jesus" is consistent with the stated doctrines of the Oneness Pentecostals, it is no less evident among the Trinitarians. The Church of God of Prophecy also sing with unrestrained enthusiasm:

> Jesus I love the name.
> Jesus I love the name.
> Jesus, let the Saints proclaim;
> There is power,

There is power,
There is power,
In the Name![73]

Thus for the vast majority of black Pentecostals, both Oneness and Trinitarian, the transcendent God is encountered and experienced as the immanent Spirit who is addressed and recognised as Jesus in their midst.[74] All black Pentecostals adhere to what is experienced and expressed as a pneumatic Christology.

This Jesucentricity and uninfluential trinitarianism has also been noted in the neo-Pentecostal or charismatic movement by both Anglican and Roman Catholic observers.[75] Furthermore, the Jesucentric nature of black Pentecostal worship would appear to have been the norm in the church of the first and early second centuries. Inspite of the diversity of liturgies emerging from the Jewish, Hellenistic and Gentile churches, the common strand of Jesus as Christ and as exalted and immanent Lord is found throughout the New Testament.[76]

While the Oneness organisations display a greater level of black spirituality and concomitant liturgical motor behaviour than do the three-stage Church of God types, and while this is primarily related to their greater autonomy and freedom from white control or influence, it is also true that the black Oneness Pentecostals experience less disjunction between their stated beliefs regarding the nature and centrality of Jesus and their liturgy than do

their trinitarian counterparts. The Trinity, explicitly affirmed in three-stage dogma is implicitly denied in the majority of the Jesucentric liturgy and worship of three-stage congregations. The modalistic Oneness doctrine corresponds very closely with this Jesucentricity which is the norm in all black Pentecostal worship. It should also be noted that the black Pentecostal sense of community is in no way dependent upon a Trinitarian theology.

Because the real theology of the black Pentecostals is always an expression of the way in which God has been revealed to them, and that revelation has an overwhelming experiential emphasis, it is not surprising that their Christology - like their soteriology - is primarily pneumatic. Jesus is the one who meets with them in worship and empowers them with His presence. The immanent God is Jesus in their midst. When "the Spirit moves" Jesus is in control. Thus, while Jesus is Lord, Christ, God, Son of God, Son of Man etc. He is primarily immanent Spirit; the one who saves them inhabits them, possesses them and is encountered and experienced in the gestalt of the worshipping community.

Black Pentecostals encounter Father, Son and Holy Spirit in and through the Scriptures, and Jesus is understood in the light of biblical Christologies. However, because the substratum of black Pentecostal theology is rooted primarily in an experiential, rather than a textual,

encounter with the divine, the dominant Christology is fundamentally pneumatic. This pneumatic Christology is not in any way exclusive in the sense of displacing the other Christologies of the New Testament. Nor is it always proclaimed as a dominant theme, but it does lie at the heart of their implicit understanding of Christ. For them, **Christos kata sarka** (2 Corinthians 5:16) can only be understood in the light of **Christos kata pneuma.** The earthly Jesus of the past who is now the exalted Lord has become truely significant for them because he is experienced as the immanent Spirit. Black Pentecostals are not concerned about the ontological relationships between the 'persons' of the Trinity because they lie beyond the range of their encounter with the divine in which Father, Christ and Spirit are indivisibly experienced as one.

h. PNEUMATIC SOTERIOLOGY

For the first generation and a significant number of the second, teaching, understanding, statements of doctrine and abstract theology are of little value compared to the experiential soteriology and pneumatology which they encounter within the community. The 'official' stated doctrine of the three-stage congregations is couched in the somewhat forensic language of the fundamentalist, evangelical and Holiness movements, and consequently fails to express the black Pentecostal experience of the relationship between pneumatology and soteriology. The doctrinal writings of three-stage (Church of God) Pentecostals state that:

> The Holy Spirit convicts man and calls him...the Holy Spirits plants the seed of the new nature in regeneration...The Holy Spirit brings forth the new birth...The Holy Spirit sanctifies the believer in the experience of sanctification...The Holy Spirit also empowers the believer by personally dwelling in the believer [and that] The Holy Spirit is the personal agent of all the experiences of salvation.77

This 'white' statement would be greeted with a heartfelt "Amen" by most black Pentecostals. However, this 'orthodox' view also includes the ideas that the Spirit is experienced at different levels of progressively greater intimacy and that baptism in (or with) the Holy Spirit has no salvific significance:

> The Holy Spirit convicts man and calls him... all Christians receive the presence of the Spirit of God at conversion...The Holy Spirit does indwell the believer at regeneration... there is an act of receiving the baptism of the Holy Spirit after the believer has experienced the Salvation experiences.78

Thus "there is a tremendous difference between the work of

the Holy Spirit in conversion and the role of the Spirit in Holy Spirit baptism."[79] In practise, this distinction is not meaningful to most black Pentecostals, who express orally something of their experiential theology when they sing:

> I feel the Spirit moving in me,
> That's why I'm saved
> That's why I'm saved
> Glory, hallelujah!
> By the grace of God I am saved.

Statements of the ordo salutis suggest "a logical and chronological pattern" which white Church of God of Prophecy teacher James Stone summarises as follows:

> The sinner is convicted in order that he might repent. He repents in order that he might be justified. The sinner receives justification in order that he might be regenerated to experience new life. He is regenerated in order that he might be sanctified. He is sanctified to be "filled" with the Holy spirit...The experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit is the culminating experience in the order of salvation.[80]

Inspite of this last statement, most white three-stage Pentecostals - including Stone - explain Spirit baptism as a **post**-salvation enduement of power for service without which a believer is something of a second class Christian. Furthermore, according to Stone, this soteriology includes not only "the emotions" and "the will" but very cognitive imperatives:

> The sinner will intellectually come to a knowledge of sin... He will intellectually come to a knowledge that he stands guilty...The new birth makes one a new creature from the standpoint of intellect..[81]

This forensic ordo salutis and the duality of intellect and affect - of Word and Spirit - may be the norm for white

American Pentecostals, but for the majority of their black co-religionists in England they are both abstract and largely irrelevant.[82] For them, to experience the presence and power of the Holy Spirit is to experience salvation and to experience salvation is to "feel the Spirit moving".

> Something got a hold on me;
> Something got a hold on me.
> Picked me up, turned me round,
> Plant my feet on higher ground;
> Something got a hold on me:
> Holy Ghost! Holy Ghost! Holy Ghost!...[and so on].[83]

This experiental soteriology and pneumatology has little to do with the intellect. Rather it is an implicit set of beliefs which centre on the idea that only by continually experiencing the presence and power of God in the redeemed community can a person be saved and kept in a state of grace. White American Pentecostals - drawing on their evangelical and Holiness backgrounds - make a Torah of the New Testament and a Talmud out of their ideology and taboos. Black members of these organisations while claiming a superficial allegiance to such nomistic Biblicism have in practise generally refused to allow the Spirit to be bound by the interdicts of a white headquarters in America.[84]

> The wind blows where it wills, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know whence it comes or whither it goes; so it is with every one who is born of the Spirit.(John 3:8)

The black-led Pentecostal churches in Britain which are least influenced by white Pentecostal ideology are the Oneness or "Apostolic" organisations which, with the

exception of the United Pentecostal Church, all have black parent bodies. They, unlike the three-stage organisations, have developed an explicitly linked soteriology and pneumatology. Perhaps a better term would be a 'soteriological pneumatology' or even a 'pneumatic soteriology'. For most of the Oneness Pentecostals, the experience of the Holy Spirit which brings salvation is synonymous with the experience of being filled or baptised with the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostal Assemblies of the World - the oldest Oneness organisation - declare:

> We earnestly contend for God's standard of Salvation. In the Word of God, we can find nothing short of a Holy, Spirit-filled life with SIGN'S [sic] FOLLOWING as on the day of Pentecost....The New Birth ("being born again"), include a genuine repentance, water baptism in Jesus' Name, and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, evidenced by the speaking in other tongues as the Spirit gives utterance.[85]

The stated doctrines of the three-stage Pentecostals follow the Lucan narratives in Acts which treat baptism with water and Spirit as separate in time and, with the exception of Cornelius (Acts 10:44-48), as a series of 'events' in temporal sequence beginning with faith/repentance and leading to water baptism, which in turn is followed by Spirit baptism. Furthermore, for white three-stage Pentecostals, while faith and repentance are recognised as the work of the Holy Spirit, neither the ordinance of water baptism nor Spirit baptism are understood as salvific. Water baptism is for those who have already been saved and Spirit baptism for those who have been sanctified. The Pauline material which links water and Spirit baptism and

identifies the latter as the beginning of salvation are interpreted by the white three-stage organisations to conform to their Acts based model.

On the other hand, the Oneness Pentecostals have had some success in reconciling both the Lucan and Pauline material and in so doing have developed an explicit doctrinal position which accords very closely with the implicit soteriological pneumatology of all black Pentecostals. While sharing the Lucan separation of water and Spirit baptism with the three-stage wing, they also understand Paul as equating Spirit baptism with conversion.[86] However, because they adhere to the 'evidence doctrine' that only those who have spoken in tongues have received the Spirit baptism, this has led in extreme cases to a "tongues or hell" position being adopted by some Oneness groups. For the Oneness Pentecostals the "three steps of salvation": repentance, water baptism in Jesus' name and Spirit baptism identify the believer with Christ in His death, burial and resurrection. That is to say, through repentance the believer shares in Christ's death, through water baptism in His burial, and through Spirit baptism in His resurrection.[87] Ralph V Reynolds of the United Pentecostal Church writes that:

> Jesus spoke to Nicodemus that it was necessary to be born of water and of the Spirit before a man could enter the kingdom of God. This birth of the Spirit is experienced when one is baptized with the Holy Ghost... as breath enters the lungs of the new-born babe and he cries out, even so the Holy Ghost enters the heart of the new-born child of God and he speaks

in tongues.[88]

As we will see in the next section, however, this identification of glossolalia with regeneration is of less importance for black Oneness Pentecostals (and indeed all black Pentecostals) because this overt doctrine is effectively undermined by an implicitly inclusive charismatology which perceives all gifts as evidential and in practise robs glossolalia of any priority over the other charismata.

i. INCLUSIVE CHARISMATOLOGY

This brings us to a consideration of the black Pentecostal's inclusive charismatology. All of the black Pentecostal organisations in Britain, in common with white Pentecostals (the British Elim Pentecostal Church partially excepted) contend for what they call "the evidence doctrine". This teaching originated with the white American, C.F.Parham, at the turn of the century and was adopted by the early white dominated Pentecostal movement in America as one of their major distinctive tenets. In the words of the Church of God (Cleveland) it is belief in: "The speaking in tongues as the Spirit gives utterance as the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Ghost."[89] The 'official' teaching declares that no one has received, or indeed can receive the infilling or baptism of (with or in) the Holy Spirit without glossolalia. Furthermore, once a person has received his or her initial "baptism" they may manifest any of the charismata listed in 1 Corinthians

chapter 12 verses 7-11: "the word of wisdom... the word of knowledge... faith... gifts of healing... working of miracles... prophecy... discerning of spirits... diverse kinds of tongues... the interpretation of tongues." For white Pentecostals it is these "nine gifts of the Spirit which the Holy Ghost has placed in the Church", there is little reference to the other **charismata pneumatica** and the possibility of gifts not mentioned in the Bible is never considered.90 However, for the black Pentecostals both the "evidence doctrine" and the limitation of the charismata either to nine or only to those referred to in the New Testament are believed in theory but not in practise. When an elderly man jerks and stamps his feet, or a young woman dances or thrashes around on the floor; when an older woman gives an account of the dream God gave her, or a young man is inspired as he sings or exhorts - it is recognised by the congregation as a gift of the Holy Spirit. In fact, virtually every contribution which an individual makes to the community of faith is, in practise, recognised and affirmed as a charisma.

While the white classical Pentecostals have limited the charismata to nine and black Pentecostals have followed them in terms of their claimed overt doctrine, the neo-Pentecostals or Charismatics have made explicit what black Pentecostals believe and practise implicitly. Paul S Fiddes in a paper on **The Theology of the Charismatic Movement** points out that:

> There is a great deal of agreement among all charismatic theologians about the nature of spiritual gifts. They are agreed... about their diversity. They conclude that the three main lists in the New Testament (in Romans 12, 1 Corinthians 12 and Ephesians 4) can hardly be exhaustive since they differ from each other, and that new gifts will be manifest to fit new situations. Moreover, they affirm that the less spectacular gifts such as administration, hospitality, teaching and generous giving are no less charismata that the unusual gifts of tongues, healing and prophecy...91

Central to this inclusive charismatology of the black Pentecostals is the implicit idea of experiencing life in all its fullness. For black Pentecostals, John 10:10 has a depth of meaning which few white Christians can perceive: "I have come," said Jesus, "that they may have life, and have it to the full." This fullness of life is imparted and shared within the redeemed community where worship is itself a celebration of life and a means of drawing on the power of the Spirit to bring power, deliverance, freedom, healing and wholeness. While white Pentecostals stress the supernatural and miraculous nature of the **charismata pneumatica**, 92 black Pentecostals, in conformity with their integrated world view perceive them as the normal everyday working of the Spirit in the worshipping community.

The perceived interrelationships between spiritual and material; mind and body; is clearly demonstrated in the practise of prayer for healing. The soma is not divorced from the psyche and the total person is ministered to in order to achieve a wholeness brought about by drawing on the power of the Spirit. But this wholeness is not to be

achieved in isolation from the community, for it is dependent upon right horizontal relationships as well as a right relationship with the divine.

j. PRAGMATIC SPIRITUALITY

The close relationship between function and implicit theology is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the case of the black Pentecostal's pragmatic spirituality. The beliefs, practices and experiences of black Pentecostals have less to do with the exegesis of Scripture than they have to do with the more practical considerations of how the existential reality of the Holy Spirit can bring about transformations in their lives, in the worshipping community and, most importantly, in those sections of the outside world and the wider society with which they are in regular contact. This 'Black' spirituality is not restricted to "feeling free" and experiencing the presence and power of God within the redemptive community. It is also about bringing the power of the divine to bear on concrete problems in the natural world. It is in fact a theology of pragmatic power and as such contrasts with the stereotype of black Pentecostals as exclusively other-worldly.

To some extent, this spiritual power is a compensation for the social, political and economic powerlessness imposed on black settlers by a fundamentally racist society. As such it is a continuation of the powerlessness most of them

experienced in the Caribbean. But it is more than a mere compensation. It is also a positive affirmation of their faith in the ability of God to change the way things are to the way they should be. It is a declaration of their belief in the omnipotence of God which can be channelled through the redeemed community to bring about transformation and healing in both people and relationships. Such a perception springs from the integrated world view which black Pentecostals have in common with their ancestors. The supernatural and divine are not relegated to an 'upper storey' but are at work in the material world. In the words of Dietrich Bonhoeffer:

> Just as in Christ the reality of God entered into the reality of the world, so too is that which is Christian to be found only in that which is of the world, the supernatural only in the natural, the holy only in the profane, the revelational only in the rational.[93]

k. RELEVANCE AND IMPLICIT THEOLOGY VERSUS SECTARIAN IDENTITY AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Jurgen Moltmann has pointed out that churches are "faced more than ever today with a double crisis: the 'crisis of relevance' and the 'crisis of identity'."[94] The implicit theology of the black Pentecostals, which is so closely related to the functions of black congregations in meeting individual and group needs has, for a section of the black population (most notably the God-fearing first generation), resolved the issue of relevance. However, unless the black Pentecostal organisations are prepared to change in order to be relevant to the second generation (the black British)

they will become ossified and ultimately die. Furthermore, the first sparks of social and political commitment - which have engendered considerably contradiction and opposition from the more conservative - will have to be fanned if the black Pentecostals are to be involved with, and relevant to the wider community, both white and black. To do so however, may put the identity of these organisations at risk, not so much in terms of their Christian identity of faith but rather their sectarian identity. The former, which is based on identification with the crucified Christ, can only remain authentic so long as the black Pentecostals are prepared to identify themselves in solidarity with the oppressed, the exploited and the suffering, and in so doing sacrifice their own identity without succumbing to the temptation of seeking a new radical political identity which loses sight of the cross (which the rebels have done). It is in self-emptying and suffering willingly for the sake of others that Christians 'go the way of the cross', and in sacrificing their identity they, paradoxically, find it in Christ who sacrificed himself.[95]

It is the sectarian identity of the various black Pentecostal organisations which will be - and already is - threatened by solidarity with the oppressed.[96] The desire to be relevant to the second generation of black British and to the wider society, threatens to undermine the spurious reasons for disunity among the black Pentecostal groups and their claims to be the "one true Church" or at

least 'very superior Christains'. While the Christian identity of the black Pentecostals comes about through faith which identifies individuals and congregations with the crucified Christ, their sectarian identity is based on a pusillanimous faith in a rigid fundamentalistic orthodoxy. Reference has already been made to the doctrine of the Trinity which functions as a badge of respectability for many Pentecostals. But this is also true of the whole gamut of nomistic tenets which this faint-hearted faith tenaciously holds as a kind of theological and ecclesiastical 'security blanket' which detracts from true faith in Christ who is the only source of real security. Similarly, the taboos and ethical rigorism of the black Pentecostals form a bastion against the perceived onslaught of the immoral 'world'. Inside their citadel they are safe from the tensions of seeking to be relevant to the wider society while simultaneously maintaining their sectarian identity. But this ghetto mentality means that the secular society is abandoned to its godlessness, apart from sporadic forays into the 'world' in order to gain converts and bring them into the 'safety' of the ramparts of fundamentalistic orthodoxy and ethical rigorism. These defensive structures not only separate them from 'the world' but also from the "nominal churches", Christians involved in social and political issues and their fellow black co-religionists who differ on some point of doctrine or ethical scruple.[97]

While the foregoing is, in general terms, an accurate description of black Pentecostalism, it is woefully incomplete and one-sided, for beneath the often substantial veneer of fundamentalism, ethical rigorism, sectarian identity and withdrawal from 'the world' there operates the black leitmotive with their expression in implicit theology: the theology of story, song, and, most importantly, concrete action. It is in this theological substratum where relevance is found. Here are the themes, ideals and bases for social involvement which can make black Pentecostalism meaningful to the second generation and the wider community. Here there lies the potential for solidarity with those who suffer. And in identifying horizontally in this way, the vertical identification with the crucified Christ is expressed. The battle for relevance as opposed to sectarian identity mirrors the disjunction between implicit theology and fundamentalism. All of the black Pentecostal organisations and congregations are caught in the tension of these forces. Some show evidence of a radical movement towards relevance, the rejection of white North American Pentecostal ideology and an understanding and articulation of the implicit substratum, while others are engaged in repairing the doctrinal and ethical breaches in the walls of their sectarian identity. Moltmann, speaking of the wider Church, summarises this double crisis of relevance and identity:

> Where identity is found, relevance is called into

> question. Where relevance is achieved, identity is called into question... each of these crises is simply a reflection of the other; and... both crises can be reduced to a common denominator. Christian theology must be a theology of the cross...[98]

Both relevance and Christian identity are products of a lived theology of the cross: of solidarity with the Christ who suffered and with those who suffer. The cross is a curse (Gal. 3:13; Deut.21:23) and an embarrassment, it is devoid of beauty (Isa.53:2) and a burden to those who share it (Matt 10:38; 16:24; Mark 10:21). On the cross, Jesus was identified with the God-forsaken (Mark 15:34), the oppressed (Isaiah 53:7; Acts 8:33) the suffering, the outcasts (Isaiah 53:3; Matthew 27:38; Luke 22:37; Hebrews 13:13) and the powerless (Philippians 2:7,8). Those who truely identify themselves with Him who "was once the victim of religion, society and the state" will "enter into solidarity with the victims of religion, society and the state at the present day" [99] The cross stands in contradiction to the humanistic desires of those who project selfish interpretations onto their 'Christianity'. Only by coming to terms with their roots of faith in the crucified Christ can the black Pentecostals (and indeed all the churches) find both relevance and the Christian identity of faith.

During the early years of the 1950s and 60s when black Pentecostal congregations were small, poor and struggling to establish themselves, this lived theology of the cross was in much greater evidence than it is today. With

numerical growth, financial security, the ownership of church buildings and a growing respectability among the indigenous mainstream denominations, has come an emphasis on material success and prosperity which has obscured the cross. This shift has been accompanied by a concomitant reduction in the preaching of the cross. That is to say, while the crucifixion may still be spoken about, it is now devoid of offence; it is expressed in terms which subvert its challenge and its judgement of what claims to be Christian. This generalisation, however, applies more to the large organisations which measure their 'success' in numerical, financial and material terms. It is less true of the many small groups which continue to struggle in the face of many difficulties, and in their suffering continue to identify with their suffering Saviour and empathise with those who suffer. Furthermore, even in the large and prosperous sects is a significant minority (generally outside of the leadership and often marginalised) who are acutely concerned about the obscuring of the cross. Although it is primarily from among the second generation that these concerns are articulated, they are no less common among the first generation.

1. ETHNIC IDENTITY

To be critical of sectarian identity is not to suggest that the identity of black Pentecostal groups as both black and Pentecostal per se is in any way reprehensible. The idea of 'integration' is often a white xenophobic response to

the otherness of others. Ideological exports of 'canned culture' from the West to the so called Third World are further evidence of a bourgeois desire to dominate others and domesticate them. In colonial times and under slavery it was often described as bringing civilisation to the benighted heathen,and was as much a matter of economics as xenophobia.

Any attempt to strip people of their cultural identity - of their otherness - reveals the desire to dominate. Conversely, the affirmation of cultural identity is in fact an affirmation of humanity and personhood, for no one can be human in a cultural vacuum. Or to use the language of the black American theologian, Gayraud Wilmore: "There is no such thing as being human in general,"100 for we are all particular human beings, born in a particular place, at a particular time, possessing particular genetic endowments and socialised into a particular culture and ethnic identity. One cannot be a person in general without being a person in particular. To be human in general means that one must be human in particular. Thus the denial or rejection of a person's ethnic identity is a denial or rejection of his humanity and personhood.

Through the incarnation, God became man and shared those human attributes which are common to all humanity. But in order for God to become man, He became **a man** in the solitary person of Jesus of Nazareth; not just human in

general, but a particular individual born at a particular time in human history, in a particular town and into a particular ethnic and religious community. In order to become man, God was incarnate in the concrete realities of the life of Jesus of Nazareth within a specifically Jewish culture. God became human in general by becomming human in particular. Wilmore writes that:

> Because of the selfhood, individuality, and particularity of Jesus we know that God respects our selfhood too, that he accepts our particularity. We too were born at a specific place in time, of a particular biological inheritance and socialized to a particular culture. No one needs to be ashamed of that. Who and what we are as candidates for the status of humanity, as the provisional human beings we would like to be, is inseparable from the particularities of our existence - whatever they may be - expressed in family background, gender, race, nationality, time and place.101

Perhaps our starting point should be the day of Pentecost, which, ironically, is stripped of much of its significance by most Pentecostals. While Pentecost proclaims that the linguistic, social and ethnic alienation and division of Babel is overcome by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, it does so in a way which recognises rather than abolishes diversities of language and culture. The significance of Acts chapter 2 is not that all could understand Peter's sermon delivered in the common Koine Greek language, but rather than the heterogeneous multitude heard the Holy Spirit communicating to them in their own native languages through members of another ethnic group (Galileans). The Holy Spirit demonstrated that the Church, rather than

insisting on homogeneity, is open to cultural pluralism. Those forces which drove mankind apart at Babel are **not** abolished at Pentecost. On the contrary, they are recognised and affirmed yet rendered powerless to divide so long as men and women are open and obedient to the love and power of the Holy Spirit.[102]

Notes and References

1. Hurston, Zora Neale, **Mules and Men**, New York: Pernnial Library/Harper, 1970, pp 18,19, quoted in Cone, James H, 'The Story Context of Black Theology' in **Theology Today**, Vol 32, July 1975, p 150.
For examples of the ambiguity in Spirituals see Thurman, Howard, **Deep River and the Negro Spiritual Speaks of Life and Death**, Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 1975 (originally in two volumes, 1945 and 1949), and Cone, James, **The Spirituals and the Blues: An Interpretation**, New York: The Seabury Press, 1972.
2. Quoted in Levine, Lawrence W, **Black Culture and Black Consciousness**, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, p XIII.

3. The disjunction between overt doctrine and implicit theology is not restricted to black Pentecostalism. It is evident in many Christian denominations and in other religious movements, yet among the black Pentecostals this mismatch is particularly extreme and central to anything but a superficial understanding of the movement.

4. cf Mulrain, George M, 'Tools for Mission in the Caribbean Culture' in **International Review of Mission**, Vol LXXV, No 297, January 1986, pp 51-58.
Cone, writing of the black church in the United States stresses that, "little emphasis is placed on the modern distinction between liberals and fundamentalists as found in white churches. Blacks show little concern about the abstract status of the Bible, whether fallible or infallible. Their concern is with Scripture as a living reality in the concreteness of their existence. Since the biblical story of God's dealings with people can be told in various ways, the chief concern of the people is not the information the preacher includes in his message but rather **how** he arranges that information into a story and how he relates it all to the daily lives of the people... They are concerned with how the preacher takes the bare facts of God's story and weaves them into the structure of their lives, giving his unique touch as a story-teller.
Cone, James H, 'The Story Context of Black Theology' in **Theology Today**, No 32, July 1975, p 148.

5. Jungel, Eberhard, **God as the Mystery of the World**, Edinburgh: T and T Clarke/Eerdmans, 1983, p 302.

6. Witvleit, Theo, **The Way of the Black Messiah: The Hermeneutical Challenge of Black Theology as a Theology of Liberation**, (Bowden, John tr), London: SCM Press, 1987 p 68.
James Cone, writing primarily out of the black experience in the United States, compares the theology of black and white: "White theologians built logical systems; black

folks told tales. Whites debated the validity of infant baptism or the issue of predestination and free will; blacks recited biblical stories about God leading the Israelites from Egyptians bondage, Joshua and the battle of Jericho, and the Hebrew children in the firey furnace. White theologians argued about the general status of religious assertions in view of the development of science generally and Darwin's **Origin of Species** in particular; blacks were more concerned about their status in American society and its relation to the biblical claim that Jesus came to set the captives free. White thought on the Christian view of salvation was largely 'spiritual' and sometimes 'rational,' but usually separated from the concrete struggle of freedom in this world. Black thought was largely eschatological and never abstract but usually related to their struggle against earthly oppression." Cone. 'The story Context of Black Theology', p 145.

7. Moltmann, Jurgen, **The Crucified God**, London: SCM Press Ltd, 1974, p2.

8. See Rhine, J B and Brier, R (Eds), **Parapsychology Today**, New York: Citadel Press, 1968 and a study which suggests that emotional arousal in the sender maximises ESP: Moss, T and Gengerelli, J A, 'ESP Effects Generated By Affective States' in **The Journal of Parapsychology**, No 32, 1968, pp 90-100.

9. In isolating and defining the basic concepts of the black Pentecostal's implicit theology, I have used, not an abstract ideal type of the authentic autonomous black congregation, but rather the real polar types which have the thinnest veneer of white fundamentalism. Brian Robinson, the American educated white British principal of the NTCoG's Overstone College in Northampton has recognised the disjunction between the overt superficially held doctrines of his organisation in Britain and the implicit theology which forms the meaningful substratum for most black Pentecostals. However he perceives the failings of his church to be its unwillingness to challenge this substratum with an evangelical conceptual theology which should ultimately replace the experientialism and narrative theology which he considers reprehensible. Robinson is concerned to justify the "Doctrinal and practical commitments" of the NTCoG - to reinforce the white North American theology - rather than to make explicit the authentic black theological substratum. Robinson, Brian, Interview, 13th September 1988.

10. Simmonds, Martin 'Black Churches in Britain' in Fraser, Ian M, and O'Brian, Joseph E (Eds), **A Theology for Britain in the 80's**, Leeds, 1982, p 157.

11. Smith, Luther E, 'Black Theology and Religious Experience' in **Journal of the Interdenominational**

Theological Centre, No 8, Fall 1980, p 61.

12. Kuhn, Thomas S, **The Structure of Scientific Revolutions**, University of Chicago Press, 1962.

13. 'Black Theology in 1976:Statement by the Theological Commission of the National Conference of Black Churchmen' reprinted in Wilmore, Gayraud S and Cone, James H (Eds), **Black Theology: A Documentary History 1966 - 1979**, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979, p 341.

14. Cone, James H, **God of the Oppressed**,New York: Harper and Row, 1978, p 17.

15. Smith, pp 63,64. In 1976, twenty three theologians from the third world who met in Dar-es-Salaam,declared, "We reject as irrelevant and academic type of theology that is divorced from action. We are prepared for a radical break in epistemology which makes commitment the first act of theology and engages in critical reflection on the praxis of reality in the Third World." Torres and Fabella (Eds), **The Emergent Gospel**, p 269, quoted n Witvleit, pp 59,60.

16. My own observations and those of Roswth Gerloff in West Germany confirm that second generation black British Pentecostals are increasingly identifying with the needs and aspirations of oppressed ethnic groups in Europe and applying their tentative theological reflections on their own experiences to the situations of others, both Christian and non-Christian

17. cf Mitchell, Henry H, **Black Belief** , London: Harper and Row, 1975, p 120; Wilmore, **Black Religion**, pp 227-234.

18. Bruner notes that "...contrary to general expectation, highly individualistic Pentecostalism is remarkably corporate and congregational in its life. The Pentecostal church-meeting or assembly where the individual gifts are principally exercised is close to the centre of the Pentecostal secret. Here the experiences of the many merge into the one and by this confluenence the power of the Spirit is felt in multiplication." Bruner, Frederick Dale, **A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness**, Grand Rapids, Michigen: Eerdmans, 1970, p 22.

19. An example of one Pentecostal ordo salutis will be found in Tomlinson, M.A., **Basic Bible Beliefs**, Cleveland, Tennessee: The Church of God of Prophecy, nd, pp.5-9.

20. Pastor B.V.Matthews preaching at CoGoP, Penn Road, Wolverhampton, December 1983.

21. Warren, Max, **Social History and Christian Mission**, London: SCM Press, 1967, p 159.

22. CoGoP District Four Convention, February 1988.

23. See Gerlach, Luther P and Hine, Virginia H, **People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation**, Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs Merril, 1970, p 115.

24. NTCoG, Low Hill, 16th January 1983.

25. FUCoJCA, Bilston, 19th June, 1983.

26. CoolJCA, Springfield, Wolverhampton, 22nd May, 1983.

27. FUCoJCA, Bilston, 19th June, 1983.

28. FUCoJCA, Dudley.

29. CoGF, Wolverhampton.

30. FUCoJCA, 19th June, 1983.

31. CoGoP, Waterloo Road, Wolverhampton, 3rd January, 1983.

32. White, J.T., 'National Overseer's Annual Address to the 29th National Convention of the Church of God in England' in **Messenger of Truth**, July/August 1982, CoGoP.

33. National Overseers of the CoGoP are able to remove, appoint and transfer pastors each year following the National Convention.

34. CoGoP, Penn Road, 7th December, 1983.
35. Barlett, E M, 1921.

36. Derricks, Cleavant, c 1934.

37. Sung by CoGoP, Waterloo Road, Wolverhampton, 14th November, 1982.

38. CoGoP, Penn Road, 23rd January, 1983.
39. Sung by NTCoG, Wellington Road, Bilston, 26th December 1982.

40. Sung by CooLJCA, Springfield, Wolverhampton, 22nd May 1983.

41. Sung by UCoG, 8th Annual Youth Convention, May 1985.

42. Sung by CooLJCA, Springfield, Wolverhampton, 22nd May 1985.

43. Sung by FUCoJCA, All Saints Road, Wolverhampton and FUCoJCA, Bilston, 19th June 1983.

44. See Hebrews 6:5, KJV.

45. The oral narrative methods of the black Pentecostals are remarkably biblical for, with the exception of Belshazzar's feast, we have a talking rather than a writing God. God spoke through the prophets, judges and Spirit-filled oracles. Both the Old Testament and the Gospels were originally transmitted orally and, while the reduction of the former to writing resulted in the silencing of the prophetic voice, the latter, in its own time, was perceived as secondary to the spoken testimony (Luke 1:1-4; 1 Cor 15:3f; 2 Thess. 2:15; 2 Tim 1:13; Jude 3). Papias of Hierapolis (c AD135), for example, maintained a preference for the "Living and Abiding voice" of oral tradition (Eusebius, **Church History**, III, 39, 4. See also V, 8, 2, 3.) Furthermore, in common with the oral narrative methods of the black Pentecostals, the preaching of Jesus was not divorced from Jesus the communicator. Those who heard him judged him by his message and they assessed the message by reference to the Man. Nor should we assume that the oral narrative method is in any way inferior to abstract written forms. Not only the great narratives of both the Old Testament and the Gospels, but also such works as Homer's **Illiad** and **Odessey** were transmitted orally before being recorded in written form, and Shakespeare's plays were designed to be heard not read!

46. cf Bittlinger, A, 'The Significance of Charismatic Experiences for the Mission of the Church', in **International Review of Mission**, LXXV, No 298, 1986, pp 120,121.
Cone, speaking of the United States, touches on the holistic communication experienced in black congregations: "Sometimes it was very difficult to understand the exact verbal point the black preacher was making. But because the power of the story was embedded in the **Act** of telling itself, it did not always matter. One could hear the message in the passion and mood which was created by the rising and falling of the voice as the preacher moved in bodily rhythm across the pulpit and in the aisle, describing rapidly the different scenes of God's salvation drama. The message was in the feeling of the Spirit that moved 'from heart to heart and from breast to breast' throughout the congregation as the preacher hummed and moaned the story. The truth of the story was dependent upon whether the people received that extra strength to go one more mile in their struggle to survive and whether they received the courage to strive one more time to right the wrongs of this world." Cone, 'Story Context', p 149.

47. Dunn, James D G, **Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Enquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity**, London: SCM Press, 1977, p 129.

48. See Ong, Walter J, **The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Relgious History**, Newhaven,

Conneticut: Yale University Press, 1967, esp.122.

49. Matthews, B.V., pastor CoGoP, Penn Road, Wolverhampton, 7th November 1983.

50. Testimony, CoGoP, ibid.

51. Testimony, ibid, but also common in many other congregations.

52. Exhortation, NTCoG, Wednesfield Road, Wolverhampton, 21st November,1982.

53. Testimony, CoGoP, George Street, Bilston, 2nd January 1983.

54. Sung at UCoG, 9th Annual Youth Convention, May 1986. Line three is sung by some congregations as: "My sins are forgiven, and now I can see."

55. Adapted from Brumley, Albert E, c 1939.

56. Sung at UCoG, 9th Annual Youth Convention, May, 1986.

57. John 8:36.

58. See for example Hollenweger, Walter J, **Pentecost Between Black and White**, Belfast: Christian Journals Ltd, 1974; Suenes, L J and Kamara, D H, 'Charismatic Renewal and Social Action: A Dialogue' in McDonnell, K (Ed), **Presence, Power and Praise: Documents on the Charismatic Renewal**, Vol III, Collegeville, Minesota: Liturgical Press, 1980, pp 291-357.

59. Erskine, Noel Leo, **Decolinizing Theology: A Caribbean Perspective** Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1981, pp 3-5; Jones, Major, **Black Awareness** , Nashville: Abingdon, 1971, p 14; Wilmore and Cone, **Black Theology**, pp 100-102; roberts, Deotis, 'Black Consciousness in Theological Perspective' in Gardiner, J and Roberts, Deotis (Eds), **Quest for Black Theology**, Philidelphia: United Church Press, 1971, pp 64,72.

60. Witvleit, p 18, citing Gutierrez, Gustavo, 'Bevrijdingetheologie Als Het Recht Van De Armen Om T Denken' in **Bevrijding En Christelijk Geloof In**, Latijns-Amerika en Nederland, 1983, p 137.

61. cf Witvleit,pp41-43.
Development in the direction of liberation theology is, according to Witvleit, "possible only if there is in fact a break with the Christian practice of faith and the Christian tradition without leaving the ground to which they owe their existence. The continuity is as important as the discontinuity. The dialectic between the two

elements produces a tension which leads to 'a new way of doing theology' (Gutierrez)." Ibid pp 43,44.

62. Ibid, Part One.

63. Testimony, 7th November 1986 from a Hymn.

64. Matthew 18:20.

65. Derrida, Jaques, quoted in Kelber, p 99.

66. Kelber, p 99.

67. Ibid, pp 200,201.

68. Sung at the CoGoP 34th Annual District Four Convention, February, 1988.

69. Recruitment to the Pentecostal congregation generally follows the pattern outlined by Gerlach and Hine:
- initial contact with a participant;
- focus of needs through demonstration;
- re-education through group interaction;
- decision and surrender;
- the commitment event;
- testifying to the experience; and
- group support for changed congnitive and behavioral patterns.
Gerlach, Luther P and Hine, Virginia H, **People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation**, Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970.
However another crucial factor which Gerlach and Hine refer to but fail to give major emphasis, is the subjective experiential encounter with the divine which lies at the heart of conversion and commitment to Pentecostal Christianity for those brought into the movement from "the world". Such an ongoing encounter is also crucial if the second generation, who have been brought up in the congregation, are to become dedicated members. While Gerlach and Hine stress that: "The phenomenon of commitment in the Pentecostal Movement has its source in an experience (the Baptism of the Holy Spirit) and an act (speaking with tongues)." [p 120] For black Pentecostals, the experiential presence of the divine - of which Spirit baptism is a part - both preceeds Spirit baptism and continues thereafter. Similarly, continuous and inclusive manifestations of charismata are in evidence. Thus commitment is as much a process as an experience. While the crises of conversion, sanctification (for three-stage Pentecostals) and Spirit baptism accompanied by glossolalia are crucial, major incentives to ongoing commitment are the ongoing subjective experiences and manifestations of the pneumatic.

70. MacRobert, Iain, 'The New Black-Led Pentecostal Churches in Britain' in Badham, Paul (ed), **Religion, State**

and Society in Modern Britain, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

71. For the first generation black Pentecostals in Britain and for most of their fellows in the Caribbean there is little desire to use the principles of Greek Platonic thought in order to understand or define the ontological nature of the relationships between Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Like the common Gentile Christians of the early Church "Christ appears quite frankly and naively as God". McGiffert, Arthur Cushman, **The God of the Early Christians**, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1924, p.59.

72. Sung by the NTCoG, Highgate Choir, 13th February, 1988.

73. Sung at the CoGoP Youth Convention, 14th February, 1988.

74. cf Mitchell, Henry, **Black Belief**, p 141.

75. **The Charismatic Movement in the Church of England**, London: CIO Publishing, 1981, p 38; McDonnell, K, 'The Experience of the Holy Spirit in the Catholic Charismatic Renewal' in Kung, H and Moltmann, J, **Conflicts About the Holy Spirit**, New York: The Seabury Press, 1979, p 97.

76. See Dunn, **Unity and Diversity**, pp 124-149.

77. Stone, James, **An Introduction to Basic Theology**, White Wing Publishing House and Press, 1983, p.50.

78. Ibid. pp.50-52.

79. Ibid. p.55.

80. Ibid. pp.80,84.

81. Ibid. pp.81,82.

82. See Ibid.pp.81,83.

83. Sung by UCoG, 9th Annual Youth convention, May 1986.

84. One example of such a Pentecostal 'Talmud' is **These Necessary Things**, 11th Edition, Cleveland, Tennessee: White Wing Publishing House and Press, 1985.

85. **The 1981 Minute Book of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World Inc.**, pp.15,17. Biblical texts cited in support of "God's Standard of Salvation" are Mark 16:16,17; Acts 2:4; 8:14-17; 9:17,18; 10:44-48; 19:1-6; Romans 12:1,2; Hebrews 12:14; Matthew 5:48; 1 Peter 1:15,16.

86. cf Dunn, James, D G, **Baptism in the Holy Spirit**, London: SCM Press, 1970, pp 226,227.

87. See Reynolds, Ralph Vincent, **Truth Shall Triumph**, St Louis, Missouri: Pentecostal Publishing House, 1965, pp 33-57.

88. Ibid, p 55.

89. 'Church of God Teachings' in Supplement to the **Minutes of the 58th General Assembly of the Church of God**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Church of God Publishing House, 1980, p.6.

90. **International Bible Truths**, Hazelwood, Missouri: Overseas Ministries (UPC), nd, p.12.
The gifts listed in Ephesians 4:8-12 - apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers - are understood by Pentecostals as "the five-fold ministry" but are not in any way associated with the nine **charismata pneumatica** listed in 1 Corinthians 12. Similarly, the gifts in Romans 12: 6-8 - prophesying, serving, teaching, encouraging, contributing to others needs and leadership - are not understood as charismata in a way which challenges the exclusive and definitive nature of the nine. One need hardly add that the gift of celebacy (1 Corinthians 7) goes entirely unrecognised.

91. Fiddes, Hall S, 'The Theology of the Charismatic Movement' in Martin, David and Mullen, Peter (Eds), **Strange Gifts?: A Guide to Charismatic Renewal**, Oxford: Basil Blockwell, 1984, p 33.

92. See, for example, Horton, Harold, **The Gifts of the Spirit**, (10th edition), Nottingham: Assemblies of God Publishing House, 1976, pp 31,32; Jones, W R 'The Nine Gifts of the Holy Spirit', in Brewster, P S (Ed) **Pentecostal Doctrine**, The Editor, 1976.

93. Bonhoeffer, Ditrich, **Ethics**, London: SCM Press/Macmillan, 1955, p 171.

94. Moltmann, **Crucified**, Ibid.

95. Ibid, pp 8-18.

96. The term 'sectarian' is not used sociologically in this context but in reference to what may be called a 'sectarian mentality' which not only maintains that one is a true believer or a superior Christian because of identification with a particular group but also denigrates members of other (often similar) groups.

97. See Moltmann, **Crucified**, pp 19-21.
98. Ibid, p 25.

99. Ibid, p 40.

100.Wilmore, Gayraud S, **Black and Presbyterian: The Heritage and the Hope**, Philidelphia: The Geneva Press for Black Presbyterians United, 1983, p 23.

101.Ibid, p 25.

102.Ibid, pp 28-33.

CHAPTER NINE

BLACK PENTECOSTALISM: SYNCRETISTIC AND CHRISTIAN?

> Orthodoxy is my doxy; heterodoxy is another man's doxy.
> - William Warburton

If, as we have shown, black Pentecostalism is a syncretism of Western Christian and African primal religious elements which continues to echo certain black leitmotive, then it is legitimate to ask: is black Pentecostalism Christian at all or, at best, an unorthodox or heretical form of Christianity? This is a question we will have to answer, but before attempting to do so it is useful to remember that in 1934 Walter Bauer asked whether it was possible to speak of orthodoxy and heresy with reference to second century Christianity.1 James Dunn, taking Bauer's question as his starting point, asserts not only that there is "no single orthodoxy in modern Christianity" but that "there was no 'pure' form of Christianity that existed from the beginning which can properly be called 'orthodox' at all."2

He quotes with approval H Koester's statement on first century Christianity that,

> We have to do here with a religious movement which is syncretistic in appearance and conspicuously marked by a diversification from the very beginning.3

Dunn, however, finds it counter-productive to speak in terms of orthodoxy or heresy and asks the fundamental

question: given the diversity, "was there a unifying strand in earliest Christianity which identifies it as Christian?"4 We may ask the same question not only in relation to black Pentecostalism but to the whole of 20th century Christianity: what identifies it as Christian? Is there some unifying strand? However, our concern is to answer these questions only in relation to black Pentecostalism and to examine some of its characteristic doctrines, practices, perceptions and implicit theology in the light of the New Testament writings and early Church practice. Needless to say, comparisons of black Pentecostal doctrine, praxis and implicit theology cannot legitimately be made with an 'orthodoxy' and 'orthopraxis' defined by a tacitly presupposed normativity established by white Western European theologians.

a. PROCLAMATION, CONFESSION AND WORSHIP

C H Dodd's concept of kerygma as the **content** of preaching suggests a substantial unity of proclamation in spite of the diversity found in the New Testament writings.5 On the other hand, Bultmann, who understands kerygma as the act rather than the content, leads us to consider the situation in which the proclamation was forthcoming. Such situational preaching **militates** against the ideal of abstracting a fixed unitary kerygma of the size postulated by Dodd:

> The prophecies are fulfulled, and the new Age is inaugurated by the coming of Christ.
> He was born of the seed of David.

> He died according to the Scriptures, to deliver us out of the present evil age.
> He was buried.
> He arose on the third day according to the Scriptures.
> He is exalted at the right hand of God, as Son of God and Lord of quick and dead.
> He will come again as judge and saviour of men.6

Dunn demonstrates that there is indeed a post resurrection 'core kerygma' but it has only three components as opposed to Dodd's seven:

> The proclamation of the risen exalted Jesus.
> The call for faith, for acceptance of the proclamation and commitment to the Jesus proclaimed.
> The promise held out to faith.7

While Dodd's kerygma is a conflation of the various kerygamata of the New Testament, Dunn's core kerygma is an abstraction of the three common elements in those diverse kerygmata. If either Dodd's conflated kerygma or Dunn's core kerygma are accepted as 'the unifying strand' which identifies a group or movement as Christian, then the black Pentecostals certainly qualify. And if they go beyond these seven or three elements in their proclamation of good news then they are doing no more than the Church of the first and second centuries which also responded to concrete situations with fuller and often very different kerygmata.8

Dunn has shown how the core kerygma was basically a proclamation of Jesus and a call to faith in Him, so it is not surprising that the confessional formulae of the various groups of Palestinian, Hellenistic and Gentile Christians, which "lay bare the **distinctiveness** of the faith expressed", are confessions of Jesus. In the New

Testament **Jesus** is confessed, not the faith **of** Jesus - his ideas and teachings - but faith **in** the historical person as the present exalted Christ, Lord, Son of Man and Son of God. Thus, according to Dunn,

> the bedrock of the Christian faith expressed in the New Testament writings, is the unity between the earthly Jesus and the exalted one who is somehow involved in or part of our encounter with God in the here and now.9

In this respect, the confessions of the New Testament, which are diverse and were called forth in different life-settings, demonstrate an essential unity.10 If this simple shared confession of faith in Jesus is the criterion which distinguishes the Christian from the non-Christian, then the black Pentecostals, with their Jesucentric experience of the salvific and immanent Spirit of God, declare themselves Christian in confessions expressed in sermon, song, testimony, story and prayer - confessions which, like those of the first century, declare a common faith, yet do so in words which are meaningful to those who share a particular culture and set of life experiences.11

The ease with which black Pentecostals identify the historical Jesus with the exalted Lord and immanent Christ is related to the orality of their proclamation which, like that of Q, united "the earthly and the future Son of man into the present efficacious one."12 Only when Q was textualised by Matthew and Luke did the living voice of Jesus become the fixed pre-Easter words of the past which are read in mainstream churches today. The orality of

black Pentecostals, like that of the earliest Christians tends to obliterate temporal distinctions. Frank W Beare notes that,

> It is doubtful if any Christian of the first or second century would have been interested in making a clear distinction between words spoken by the historical Jesus in the days of his flesh, and words of the risen Lord - who was, after all, the same person.13

The same may be said for most black Pentecostals.

One also finds a great diversity of worship styles and liturgy in the earliest Christian communities. Some, like Paul and the Corinthians, emphasising its corporate nature and relying on the creative inspiration of the Spirit, while others, as in the letter to the Hebrews, reflected a more individual orientation or stressed the continuing relevance of Jewish tradition, as in the case of Palestinian Christianity which was opposed by the Hellenists, Stephen and later John. In the Pastorals, the charismatic spontaneity and congregational participation of the first generation appears to be undergoing some formalisation with exhortation and teaching becoming identified with office holders, and prophecy relegated to the past.14 As there was no single orthodox liturgy or style of worship in the Church of the first century, it seems less than reasonable to demand one today. Dunn concludes that,

> When we examine the worship of the first-century Christian churches we discover...a unity centering on faith in the man Jesus now exalted, but round that unity a diversity which displays almost endless

variety...15

Pentecostals, white as well as black, Charismatics within the so called mainstream denominations, and the new House Church movement demonstrate many similarities with Hellenistic, Pauline and Corinthian forms of worship. The Hellenists met in houses for worship, prayer, teaching and table fellowship (Acts 2:42,46; 5:42; 1:14; 4:23-31; 12:12). 'Paul appears to have perceived these 'house churches' as important loci of community life and mission (Romans 16:5; 1 Cor.16:19; Col.4:15; Phil.2). Similarly, for early Pentecostalism, on both sides of the Atlantic, transplanted black Pentecostalism during its early days in Britain, the Charismatic movement and the House Church movement, private homes were and are extensively used for worship. Church buildings, when they are used, contribute little to worship which, like Corinthian Christianity, centres on the charismatic functioning of the community (1 Cor.12-14). This democratisation of worship in Corinth and among the Pentecostals, while having some structure (1 Cor.2:12-15), was essentially spontaneous and largely dependent upon the inspiration of the Spirit (1 Cor.14:26-33). However, by the end of the first generation, both first century Christianity, early Pentecostalism and black Pentecostalism in Britain were becoming less democratic and spontaneous in worship. In particular, preaching and exhortation were and are becoming more the perogative of an emerging clergy (cf 1 Tim.2:12;

3:2; 4:13; Titus 1:9) and the spontaneity of the **charismata pneumatica** giving way to a more regulated style.16

A central feature of both Pauline/Corinthian worship and black Pentecostalism is its corporate and participative nature which, when inspired by the Spirit, becomes the integrated and interdependent body of Christ. Dunn, speaking of Paul's understanding of the charismatic community, is no less a valid description of black Pentecostalism:

> The body of Christ comes to expression, lives and moves, through the mutual interplay of gifts and ministries, the diversity of manifestations being integrated into a unity of purpose and character by the controlling Spirit of Christ. But this means that **the body of Christ comes to visible expression pre-eminently in and through worship...**17

'Church' for black Pentecostals has little or nothing to do with ecclesiastical architecture or written liturgies. It is contributing ones gifts of praise, prayer, testimony and exhortation to the whole gestalt of worship (cf 1 Cor.14:26-33) in which the Spirit moves, God is immanent and the congregation functions as an organic whole.

b. COMMUNITY

In chapter six we established the sociological nature of the black Pentecostal worshipping community and in chapter eight, discussed the significance of community in black Pentecostalism's theological sub-stratum. Like Old Testament Israel, the worshipping community is an ethnic community. In the Caribbean, as in ancient Israel the

extended family formed the basis of social cohesion. In Jamaica this was matrifocal; in ancient Israel, patriarchal. In rural Jamaica, families were united not only by kinship but also by ties of economic dependency and pragmatic necessity. The extended families of ancient Israel formed themselves into clans which, in turn, were combined into tribes. At times, judges, kings and high priests claimed some degree of loyalty from the whole federation of tribes which was later rent asunder (1 Kings 12:1-20) but the most powerful basis for solidarity and common identity was allegience to Yahweh. Following settlement in the land of Canaan, communities became territorially as well as ethnically defined and tension existed between urban and rural dwellers. The first generation of black Pentecostals who migrated to urban England from the rural parishes of Jamaica have united in congregations and organisations which in turn have some sense of belonging to the wider society of those who are "Church of God", "Apostolics" or black Christians. The church in Western Europe before the Enlightenment and the Protestant Reformation was also communitarian to a degree which is now uncommon except among the black churches which stand much closer in this respect to the religious and ethnic communities of the Old and New Testaments than do most white Christians.

The word **koinonia** (fellowship or common life) first occurs in Luke's account of the coming of the Spirit on the Day of

Pentecost. He writes that the earliest Church:

> ...devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and to the fellowship, to the breaking of bread and to prayer... All the believers were together and had everything in common. Selling their possessions and goods, they gave to anyone as he had need. Every day they continued to meet together in the temple courts. They broke bread in their homes and ate together... [Acts 2:42,44-46 NIV]

Furthermore, for Luke it is the outpouring of the Holy Spirit which incorporates individuals into participation in the new community of faith (Acts 2:38,39; 8:14-17; 10:44-48; 11:15-17; 19:1-6). Similarly, for Paul, the experience of the Spirit was of crucial importance in creating the Christian community - the organic body of Christ (1 Corinthians 12:13ff; 2 Corinthians 13:14; Ephesians 4:3,4; Philippians 2:1).[16]

On the continuum between individualistic isolation and community, the black Pentecostals are located closer to the New Testament descriptions of Spirit inspired **koinonia** than most white Christianity in Britain.

c. ORALITY, NARRATIVITY, THE SCRIPTURE AND THE SPIRIT

The orality and narrativity of black Pentecostalism, which has already been described in some detail, is also closer in methodology to the earliest Church than are white literary forms.

Oral and textual hermeneutics and thought forms are quite distinct, for the medium has profound effects on both.

Werner H Kelber writes that:

> Thinking is indebted to the medium through which knowledge is acquired. The oral medium, in which words are managed from mouth to ear, handles information differently from the written medium, which links eye to visible but silent letters on the page... We treat words primarily as records in need of interpretation, neglecting all too often a rather different hermeneutic, deeply rooted in biblical language that proclaims words as an act inviting participation.[19]

Since the 1920s, the New Testament form criticism of Hermann Gunkel has highlighted the fact that the Gospels are the oral traditions of the early Church collected together into written form. As such they were a 'social' possession and were products of the collective memories of the earliest Christians (Luke 1:1,2; Hebrews 3:2; 1 Cor.15:3; 1 Thess 2:15; 2 Tim 1:3; Jude 3). The Church preceded the written Gospels, and the earliest written versions were a collection of the oral traditions circulating in the early Church concerning the life, teaching, miracles, controversies, death, resurrection and glorification of Jesus.[20]

The social and participative nature of orality is well summarised by Kelber who stresses that,

> ...oral and written compositions come into existence under different circumstances. A speaker addresses and audience in front of him, and its presence in turn affects the delivery of his speech. There is a sense in which performer and audience share in the making of the message. An author, by contrast, writes for readers who are normally absent at the time and place of writing.[21]

Thus oral messages are to some extent a social product, for orality is the most democratic of communication media. And

this is particularly true of black Pentecostal preaching in which the congregation responds, affirms, preempts and prompts the speaker who modifies his message in response to feedback from the audience. This feedback is both verbal and paralinguistic: the implicit meanings of facial expressions and body language. While Afro-Caribbeans of both generations have grown up in literate environments, their culture, like that of the earliest Christians, is primarily oral. Walter Ong reminds us that:

> In antiquity the most literate cultures remained committed to the spoken word to a degree which appears to our more visually organized sensibilities somewhat incredible or even perverse.[22]

Oral messages are invariably related to social contexts. They are remembered and passed on to others because they have been internalised, and they are remembered and re-transmitted because they are perceived as acceptable and relevant to the individual and the community. "In short," writes Kelber, "oral transmission is controlled by the law of **social identification** rather than by the technique of verbatim memorization."[23] That which is offensive or irrelevant is unlikely to be long remembered or repeated. Thus the messages of black Pentecostal preachers are regulated by congregations in much the same way as the earliest Christians remembered and repeated those stories and sayings of Jesus with which they could identify, and forgot the multitude of those which they misunderstood, were indifferent about or found socially unacceptable.[24] The selective amnesia was as significant as the selective

memorizing. Thus the individual oral compositions of Jesus and other communicators are ratified by the community and granted continual life, die in the infancy of their first sounding to be lost in silence, or slowly fade into oblivion before they can be textualised.

Some distinction should be made between what may be called **textual orality** and **social orality**. Textual orality is the process by which a script is used as the basis for what is sounded. Its purest form is reading a paper or sermon exactly as it is written. Social orality is the process by which the speaker is in constant interaction with his audience to the extent that his composition is a social product. These, of course, are polar types with a great deal of oral communication falling on the continuum between them. Nevertheless, the social orality of the black Pentecostal is quite distinct from the textual orality of, for example, the congregational responses in the Anglican prayer book, and thus much closer to the practice of the earliest church and the process which generated the oral predecessors of the written Gospels which are another form of textual - or more correctly textualised - orality.

Eusebius tells us that the first Gospel was written after the death of Peter.[25] Only when the living voice - the oral proclamation - of the martyr apostle was silenced did Mark write down what he remembered of Peter's testimony. Only as the first generation 'eyewitnesses' died did second

and third generation Christians produce a written substitute for the oral testimony. And not until the middle of the second century - the time of Justin Martyr - did the written Gospels take the place of the "living and abiding voice" of tradition which Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis (c 135) maintained a preference for.[26] In fact, not only Papias but Justin and Irenaeus also upheld the primacy of the oral gospel and expressed scepticism towards the written word.[27]

Not withstanding the Epistles, the earliest Church was primarily oral in it's transmission of the Jesus and Kerygmatic traditions. The written Gospels still bear many indicators of the predominantly oral nature of their pre-textual transmission (particularly Q): triads, common link words and topical arrangements to name but three. Furthermore, the oral traditions in the earliest communities of the Spirit were not only remembered and reiterated, but interpreted and reinterpreted in relation to the diverse situations and needs of the earliest congregations. Thus, says Dunn, traditions were not authorative in themselves but "**only when taken in dynamic conjunction with the present inspiration of the Spirit.**"[28] Tradition which had ceased to be relevant was abandoned (Jewish tradition was redundant for Hellenist and Gentile Christians) or was adapted and interpreted (kerygmatic and Jesus traditions were interpreted differently by each pneumatic community). The historical earthly Jesus of

tradition was also the present exalted and immanent Jesus of the Spirit. Thus the past was pneumatically interpreted in the light of the present; the historical was re-proclaimed by the Paraclete (John 14:26; 16:12-15); the message of the earthly Jesus was reinterpreted as the present will of the immanent Lord of the community.[29]

If it was interpreted or pneumatic tradition which was authoritative in the diverse situations of the first century, then we should be sceptical of denominations and other Christian communities which adhere to redundant historical interpretations which were produced in past situations but are irrelevant today. Such 'frozen' badges of 'orthodoxy' are a contradiction of the ongoing work of the Holy Spirit in the Church. As we have seen in a preceding chapter, the overt fundamentalism of the black Pentecostals is largely irrelevant and primarily serves this function. It is a mark of 'respectability' and 'orthodoxy': a doctrinal 'security blanket' to be clutched at when threatened or challenged by the historic denominations. (Of course the historic denominations also have their 'security blankets'!). Behind this facade, however, the Spirit of Jesus, the Lord of the Church, is perceived as bringing the historical traditions into the contemporary situation and re-expressing them as the present will of God. Yet even many of the recent interpretations of tradition which remain meaningful for the first generation of settlers from the Caribbean, are becoming redundant for the second

generation - the black British whose changed life situation and bi-cultural experience is causing many of them to reject their parents' understandings and to seek new interpretations from the Spirit. What appears certain at this stage is that, in spite of reactionary elements, inherited tradition is undergoing pneumatic reinterpretation and thus remaining relevant. Most black Pentecostals wholeheartedly embrace the New Testament record of the traditions of first century Christianity while sharing in and experiencing - if not always clearly articulating - the ongoing reinterpretations of the New Testament taking place in their pneumatic communities.

The black Pentecostal's approach to the Jesus traditions is reflected in their interpretation of all Scripture. For the Gentile Christians of the first century, the Old Testament was only authorative "**to the extent that it could be adequatly re-interpreted by and in relation to the new revelation of Jesus.**"30 Such a revelation included the ongoing experience of the Spirit, and respect for the Scriptures was combined with a radical liberty in how they were interpreted. In the approach to the Old Testament adopted by the earliest Gentile (and to a lesser extent Jewish) Christians is paradigmic for the way in which modern Christians should treat the whole Bible, then the implicit theology of the black Pentecostals which brings together the Biblical text and their experiences of Jesus in the pneumatic community, stands close to the first

century hermeneutic. Just as first century Christians adopted, adapted, modified, conflated and sometimes ignored parts of the Old Testament text in the light of the new revelation of Jesus, the black Pentecostal's experience of Jesus as Lord in the community of the Spirit, has meant that those sections of Scripture which are profoundly meaningful to them are understood in the light of their living experience of immanence and power. Their superficial fundamentalism and biblical literalism is, in practise, overwhelmed by an interpretive process which, although generally unrecognised, generates an experiential understanding of sections of the Bible and results in other sections being largely ignored.

In discussions with white theologians and Church people I have detected a distinct air of assumed superiority which stems in part at least from their perception of the oral narrative methods of black Pentecostals as inferior to their own abstract literary methods. However, Jesus himself is recorded as saying very little about the written text of the Old Testament, and during his last discourse comforted his disciples, not with the assurance that a written text (the New Testament) would take his place and reveal his will, but that the Holy Spirit would come (John 13-16). There is no evidence that Jesus instructed his followers to record his life and teaching in writing and it was the spoken rather than the written Word which was the vehicle for the Spirit and the instrument of salvation

(Acts 10:44; Romans 10:5-17; 1 Cor 2:4,5; Gal 3:1-5; 1 Peter 1:12).31 The earliest Church spread throughout the Roman world, not primarily as a result of epistles - which were written to believers in the churches - but because of the oral kerygma. The apostles and disciples were listeners, not writers, and were commissioned by Jesus, not to read and study, but to proclaim His (oral) message and emulate His deeds.

Throughout the Old Testament the "Word" or "Word of God" is not generally read but heard. "God," says the writer of Hebrews, "**spoke**...to our fathers by the prophets" (1:1). "Men moved by the Holy Spirit spoke from God" (2 Peter 1:21). "The prophets," writes Robert D Brinsmead,

> were not philosophers uttering timeless theological or ethical insights divorced from concrete historical situations. But in the midst of real events in history, the prophets were vehicles of God's personal address.32

There were considerable stresses within post-exilic Judaism as the priests sought to preserve the written Torah in a changeless fixed form (particularly from the time of Ezra) while the prophets, inspired by the Spirit, spoke in ways which sometimes conflicted with, or at best reinterpreted, or added to the Scriptures. To claim prophetic inspiration was to risk death, perhaps even at the hands of ones own family (Zechariah 13:1-5). Only with the passing of time did the priestly editors incorporate something of the post-Exilic prophets' pseudonymous messages into the written records.33 Thus the Word of God in the Old

Testament was primarily not the written text but the oral proclamation of God's will by the Spirit-inspired prophet. The prophet Amos for example, announces:

> "The days are coming," declares the Sovereign Lord, "when I will send a famine through the land - not a famine of food or a thirst for water, but a famine of hearing the words of the Lord (Amos 8:11)."

This prophecy does not mean that Israel would lose all their copies of Scripture. On the contrary, Amos is referring to the living Word - the spoken Word - which he predicts will be silenced because the Word of God will no longer be heard through the voice of a living prophet.[34] The orality of the later Old Testament prophets was perceived as a direct challenge to the 'sola scriptura' position held to by post-exilic Judaism, and the oral teachings of Jesus also came into conflict with Judaism's written code.

Similarly, in the New Testament the "Word" or "Word of God" refers, not to written text but to He who became flesh as Jesus of Nazareth (John 1:1-18) and to the oral transmission of the gospel (eg Acts 4:29; 6:4; 10:44; 13:5,44,48; 18:11; Romans 10:5-17; 1 Thess 3:1; 1 Peter 1:23)[35]

For Paul, writer of many epistles, orality was of supreme importance. He, like Isaiah (49:1) and Jeremiah (1:5), was **called** (Galations 1:13-16) to serve God (Romans 1:1; 1 Corinthians 1:1) and it is through oral proclamation that

both Jews and Gentiles are called (Romans 9:24; 1 Corinthians 1:24) into glory, peace, freedom and the Kingdom (1 Thess.2:12; 1 cor.7:15; Gal 5:13) to be saints (Romans 1:7; 1 Corinthians 1:2). The word of God is not read but heard (1 Thess 2:13) and is responded to not only with the heart but also orally (Romans 10:9).

Paul's emphasis on orality is summarised by Werner H Kelber who writes that,

> Although Paul does, of course, commit the gospel, or reflections upon it, to letters, his written exposition leaves no doubt that the gospel, when it came alive, was spoken aloud and, if it is to bring life again, must be sounded afresh. Clearly, the writing of a gospel after the manner of Mark is foreign to Paul. The gospel he writes about bears the indelible imprint, or more accurately, echoes the voice prints of an oral authority.
> The oral quality of gospel is corroborated by the fact that 'logos' or 'logos tou theou' can serve as synonymous for gospel in Pauline language. The Thessalonians have received "the Word" (1 Thess 1:6), the Corinthians heard the unadulterated "Word of God" (2 Cor 12:17; 4:2; 1 Cor 14:36), the Galatians were taught "the Word" (Gal 6:6), and the Philippians spoke "the Word of God" (Phil 1:14). Gerhard Kittel has stressed the activist character of 'logos' with a seriousness rarely encountered in Pauline scholarship: "In all this the 'logos' is always genuine 'legein', or spoken word in all concreteness. One of the most serious errors of which one could be guilty would be to make this 'logos tou theou' a concept or abstraction." As a rule, the Pauline reference to 'logos' or 'logus tou theou' is to the living, preached word of the gospel.36

It is this gospel, which for Paul is invariably oral, which is "the power of God" (Romans 1:16). Furthermore, the spoken word of the gospel has more to do with effect than content: the words are not so much discourses about the subjects of life or reconciliation but a means of bringing

the power of life and reconciliation into peoples lives (Philippians 2:16; 2 Corinthians 5:19). Robert Funk writes that:

> Paul connects the word as power with oral word because the real nature of words, their power, is disclosed when they are spoken, pronounced... the inter-relation of true word, power and Spirit are potent for Paul.[37]
> Words [writes Kelber], are taught by the Spirit (1 Cor 2:4,13), and the confession is spoken in the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 12:2). The gospel occurs not only in word but in power and Spirit (1 Thess 1:5), and the Spirit is received by faith that comes from hearing (Gal 3:2, 5,14). In the background lurks the phenomenological connection between sound and spirit or breath... Because sound comes into existence through the manipulation of air, spoken words owe their very existence to spirit, the breath of life. Operated by the breath of air and endowed with spiritual quality, speech is fluid, hence living, and not subject to the written regimentation of textualization. Moreover, spoken words are invisible and in this regard of the order of God and the Spirit. Energized by spiritual force, the spoken gospel can thus function as carrier of life and give birth to life.[38]

Furthermore, for Paul there is a considerable degree of antithesis between the "written code" or "letter" of the Torah on the one hand, and, on the other, the Spirit which is imparted to people in the context of the spoken word (Rom 2:29; 7:6; 2 Cor 3:1-18). Those who insisted on living by the written code were the Judaisers whom Paul so vehemently resisted. His objection to the Law, however, was not so much an aversion to 'good works' as it was to its written nature which was antithetical to the Spirit.[39]

Kelber stresses that,

> the feature Paul emphasizes in describing the human condition under the Law is the written nature of the Law. The Law is called "the Scripture" (Gal 3:8: 'he graphe') or "the book" (3:10: 'en to biblio'). It exists in written form (3:10: 'tois gegrammenois),

and the obedience it claims is to its written totality (3:10 'pasin tois gegrammenis en to biblio tou nomou tou poiesai auta'.) Implied in this language is not aversion to the legalistic character of the Law nor scepticism about self-righteous use of it, but a sense of its written totality and complexity. From the standpoint of 'akoe pisteos', the technology of writing facilitates an unparalleled expansion of mental storage possibilities, effecting a vast augmentation of the Word of God. Insofar as it is recorded by the written medium, the Law renders the obligation to live up to "**all** that is written down in the book" ever more difficult. This written complexification of the Word appears to be contrary to the personalized communication fostered by the oral gospel and faith that comes from hearing. There is, therefore, a linguistic dimension to the Pauline polemic against the Law, which connects the curse of the Law (Gal 3:13 'tes kataras tou nomou'), its tragic inability to give life (3:21), with its objectification into a written record...

The peculiarly negative assessment of the mediation of the Law reflects the hermeneutical conviction of one dedicated to the umediated, direct, hence oral delivery of the Word of God. In Gal 3:19-20 the two mediating agents of angels and Moses produce a double distancing effect. the voice of God, when communicated by mediation, no longer speaks directly. In its mediated form, it operates as a fractured, secondary version, whereas the promises were spoken to Abraham (3:16 'to de Abraam errethesan hai epaggeliai') and renewed in the gospel of Christ, the Law (which came between Abraham and Christ) was equivalent to the interrupted voice of God. The ideal of oneness, invoked by Paul in antithesis to mediatorship, signifies the unmediated, total presence attainable through the personalizing powers of the gospel of Christ. This is how the status of the Law, the written Word of God, must appear to one who is committed to the oral gospel and its participatory effects.[40]

The terms 'Law' and 'Scripture' are often used synonymously in the New Testament, particularly by Paul and John (eg Gal 3:21, 22; 4:21,22,30; John 10:34,35;15:25). For Paul, the 'Law': Old Testament 'Scripture' (Gal 3:21-25; 4:21-30) was the instrument of imprisonment (Gal 3:22,23) from which the Spirit could

deliver (Gal 5:18). The vehicle for the Spirit was not the Scripture but the oral proclamation of the gospel (Gal 3:1-5). Thus we have the Spirit associated with orality and liberation, set in contradistinction to the Law which is associated with literality and bondage. Such a perception by Paul is not far from the implicit assumptions of black Pentecostals who - inspite of the legalistic veneer of fundamentalistic biblicism - also demonstrate an awareness of the interdependence between orality, spirituality and liberation.

While orality is associated with the Spirit, audibility, invisibility, participation, direct unmediated communication, intimacy and internalisation; textuality is associated with imprisonment, death, visibility, reflection, mediation, objectification, externalisation and alienation. "Thousands of references," writes Ong, "could be cited, open or veiled, to writing and print as death."41 Kelber writes that,

> The psycholinguistic realities entailed in the process of pinning down living words on paper are profoundly intricate, but they are conveniently summed up in the fashionable aphorism: spoken words personify, written words objectify. In the performance of the oral gospel the power of words is actualized, and speaker and hearer tend to converge in the message. Spoken words encourage participation **in** the message, not reflection **on** it. The written word of the Law, on the other hand, has become unhinged from the oral, participatory lifeworld. It has assumed an existence as verbal artifact, an object apart from speaker and audience. It is this posture of detachment that the Law benefits the quality of perception. Laid out before one's eyes, the law as **gramma** invites scrutiny and fosters critical mental activity. Deliberation of its

> meaning has replaced participation in its message. The individual self, standing apart from the **gramma**, reflects upon it and comes to awareness of its own selfhood. The distance guaranteed by the written Law highlights a sense of self-surveillance and self-criticism. This is the hermeneutical truth behind Paul's statement that I would not have known my self, were it not for the old status of the written law... In depth his repudiation of the Law arises out of aversion to the objectifying world of visualism and preference for the oral world of dynamism and synthesis. From the standpoint of this conviction, the law as grammatological authority appears antithitical to the powers of the oral gospel. This is the way the matter of the written Law must present itself to the apostle whose fundamental disposition is not to teach objectification, but to preach participation.[42]

Jesus like those who followed him and were responsible for remembering his words and deeds also demonstrated a radical liberty in the way he used Scripture and on occasions totally disregarded its teaching (eg on food and Sabbath regulations). He spoke with an authority which was greater than that of Scripture. Jesus himself wrote nothing, nor did he seek to define abstract theological concepts. On the contrary, he told stories, rich with imagery. He gave no precise definition of the kingdom, for example, but described it as a farmers field, a mustard seed, yeast, buried treasure, a fishing net and so on. Jesus did not give the kind of exact descriptions of divine realities which the systematic theologian hankers after, but spoke in parables and used illustrations which were meaningful to the common people. If Jesus used oral narrative methods to proclaim the sublime truths upon which much of propositional theology is based; and if both Old and New Testaments reflect oral traditions which have been reduced

to written form; and if Paul sets himself in opposition to the written nature of Torah, then we have among the black Pentecostals an orality and narrativity which stands close to that of the religious communities which produced the Bible.

Frances M Young maintains that,

> Stories may be a better medium than philosophy, creed or dogma for all talk about God and his relationship with the world... Stories belong particularly to religion. If you draw up a philosophy or a system of doctrine you have to avoid contradiction and be coherent, but when you are talking about the meaning of life or about God, the subject is too big to pin down... in the end we are attempting to speak of matters which are beyond human comprehension and too full of depths, questions and doubts, faith, hope and mystery. However, if we tell stories we may strike at deeper chords of meaning even while admitting that we cannot tell the whole story or in any sense give through stories an accurate picture of the greater reality we are trying to express. [43]

Kelber writes that:

> Spoken words breathelife, drawing their strength from sound. They carry a sense of presence, intensity, and instantaneousness... sounded words eminate from one person and resonate in another, moving along the flow and ebb of human life. They address hearers directly and engage them personally in a manner unattainable by the written medium. One can well imagine Jesus' words interacting with people and their lives, and enacting presence amidst hearers. As is well known by most ancient cultures, living words, especially those uttered by charismatic speakers, are the carriers of power and being... When sounded words are thus known to be effective in the act of speaking, it takes but one small step to regard them "as being of the same order of reality as the matters and events to which they refer." In addition, oral language is always personalized, speaker and hearers together create situations wherein words come into being. Spoken words, therefore, can produce the actuality of what they refer to in the midst of people. Language and being, speaker, message, and words are joined together in a kind of unity. [44]

It is impossible for any written account - even the incomparable Bible - to contain the Spirit which is the presence of He who died and is risen and is in the midst of His Church. God cannot be textually defined nor the gospel be expressed by mere definition.[45] The Spirit can still speak to the churches (cf Revelation 2:7 etc) in which God is present; and the gospel proclaimed orally in the power of the Spirit can still bring the presence of Christ into the human situation. Or to use Kelber's terms:

> Oral speech provides the matrix in which the living Christ flourishes and a sense of God's presence grows.[46]

We have within the black Pentecostal churches a pneumatic orality which brings both the presence of Christ by the Spirit and the power of Christ to save into the worshipping community in a way which Paul may well have favoured in contrast to the legalism encouraged by the exaltation of Scripture above such pneumatic orallity.

A brief digression is called for at this point in order to justify my use of hymns and choruses as a basis for understanding the implicit theology of the black Pentecostals. Like the early Palestinian church the black Pentecostals have taken over and often adapted traditional hymns. As the early church probably adopted the Magnificat and Benedictus from pious Judaism, and the Gloria in Exclesis and Nunc Dimittis reflected Jewish Messianic hopes, the black Pentecostals have adopted many mainstream

European hymns and the revivalist songs of the United States. But they have also produced hymns, chorus and Gospel songs which, like many of those in the New Testament, reflect the syncretism of different world views and theologies. For example, in one of the most notable Christ-hymns of the New Testament, recorded in Philippians 2:6-11, a Hebraic structure is evidenced by its parallelism but the hymn reflects a Hellenistic theology in its reference to pre-existence and its Greek world view of two simultaneous spheres rather than the Jewish eschatology of two successive ages.[47] Such hymns are quoted extensively throughout the New Testament, and in John's gospel, the letters of Paul, 1 Peter and Hebrews reflect some of the distinctive theological positions of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity. While speaking of Christ, they do so in ways which reflect their distinctive world-view, culture, use of language and apologetic concerns.[48] To see in hymns a valid articulation of theology should not be problematic for those who study the New Testament.

d. SPIRIT BAPTISM, CHARISMATA, ENTHUSIASM, DREAMS AND APOCALYPTIC

The Pentecostal position that water baptism and (the metaphor of) Spirit baptism are distinct, is lent considerable support by Luke's writings, particularly the book of Acts. While it has been argued that water baptism was understood by the early Church as a means of receiving the Spirit, there is little or no evidence for this in the

New Testament. Luke, in particular, clearly distinguishes between baptism "with water" and baptism "with the Holy Spirit"(Acts 1:5; 11:16). In the majority of instances people received "the gift of the Holy Spirit" after undergoing water baptism "in the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 2:38; 8:12-17; 19:2-7). Others apparently were "filled with the Holy Spirit" having undergone water baptism at the hands of John or Jesus' disciples (Acts 2:4 with John 3:22-26; 4:1,2; Acts 18:25), and the "Holy Spirit came upon" the Cornelius household **before** water baptism was administered "in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 10:44-48). This outpouring of the Spirit was an eschatological sign (Acts 2:16 ff) without which water baptism was insufficient (Acts 8:14-17; 19:1-7), and it was perceived as divine evidence that "life-giving repentance" had been granted (Acts 11:15-18). In the words of Dunn, water baptism

> ...remained primarily the expression of man's action (repentance/faith) towards God, whereas it was the Spirit that was recognised as the expression of God's action towards men.[49]

Furthermore, for Pentecostals, Spirit baptism is not something which is solely a matter of faith but of experience also.[50] Thus they fall into that category of 'enthusiastic Christianity' which has burst forth again and again in ecclesiastical history from the first century to the present, to the dismay of the conservative upholders of the status quo. This experiential, pneumatic stream within Christendom is, however, no mere tributary but at the very fountainhead and source of the Church. Dunn asserts that

"the earliest form of Christianity seems to have been nothing other than such an enthusiastic sect."[51]

The 'birth' of the Church on the Day of Pentecost was pneumatic, glossolalic (or xenoglossic) and enthusiastic (Acts 2:1-13). Luke's account also includes audition - "a noise like a strong driving wind" - and vision - "there appeared to them tongues like flames" (Acts 2:2,3). Subsequent experiences of the Spirit recorded in Acts also include glossolalia, prophecy (10:44-46; 19:9) and indications of other ecstatic experiences (4:31; 8:17). Further evidence of the experiential, pneumatic,-enthusiastic nature of earliest Christianity is found in the multitude of references to dreams and visions, many of which were significant in directing mission (Acts 9:10; 10:3-16; 16:9,10; 18:9-11; 22:17-21). Dunn asserts that "where important decisions are determined by visions we have enthusiasm pure and simple."[52] Similarly, the New Testament accounts of healings, miracles and inspired speech - prophecy, glossolalia, testimony and praise - are all characteristic of outbreaks of enthusiastic, pneumatic Christianity which has recurred again and again from the first century to the present. It is noteworthy that Luke unquestioningly accepts the visionary experiences, miracles and inspired utterances of the early church as directly from God and tangible evidence that the Holy Spirit is at work.

For Paul also, experience lay at the very centre of his Christian life. His conversion on the Damascus Road was no mere intellectual or volitional event, but an experience of the risen and exalted Jesus. Even outside of Luke's accounts in Acts, Paul's own letters make it clear that he experienced visions (2 Cor 12:1-5), miracles (Romans 14:19; 2 Cor 12:12) and inspired speech (1 Cor 2:4-10; 14:18; Eph 6:17), and valued both prophecy and glossolalia (1 Cor 14:2-5, 13-15, 22-25, 27-32). However, Paul who wrote so much about charismata, was also conscious of the need for religious experiences to be tested or evaluated in the light of the kerygmatic and Jesus traditions, the manifestation of love (1 Cor 13), their benefit to the community (1 Cor 14) and spiritual discernment (1 Cor 2:14,15; 12:10; 14:29).[53] The charismata were to "build up the church", be judged by others, subject to "control", and be used "decently and in order" (1 Cor 14:26-33, 39, 40). Furthermore, for Paul, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, and thus spiritual experiences are experiences of union with Christ, and in particular, union with Christ in his death (Rom 6:3-6; 8:12-17; 2 Cor 4:10; 13:4; Gal 2:19,20; 6:14; Phil 3:10; Col 2:11-15).[54] The event and message of the Cross stands above spiritual enthusiasm (1 Cor 1:22-24, 29,30) because, in Dunn's words,

> union with Christ for Paul is **characterised** not by lofty peaks of spiritual excitement and ecstasy, experiences of vision, revelation, extraordinary power or high inspiration, but more typically by self-giving love, by the cross.[55]

The earliest Christianity portrayed in the writings of Luke

and Paul was pneumatic, experiential, charismatic, ecstatic and often enthusiastic. Similar characteristics in black Pentecostalism can hardly be judged unfavourably in comparison with such a first generation, first century church. It should be noted however that most black Pentecostal congregations do not apply Paul's limitation of inspired speech to three utterances or advocate the silencing of uninterpreted glossolalia (1 Cor 14:27-33).

Paul appears to have taken issue with one section of the Corinthian congregation who perceived themselves as **Pneumatikoi** and as such, superior to other Christians (1 Cor. 2:6-3:4 et passim).[56] Such may have been the forerunners of the Gnostics who also claimed a higher form of wisdom (**sophia**; 1Cor 1:17-2:5; 4:6,8,10,18) and knowledge (**gnosis**; 8:1,3,7,10,11). These Corinthian **Pneumatikoi** tended to regard certain gifts as evidence of their superior spirituality with particular emphasis placed on glossolalia (1 Cor.14:12, 23, 33) and others, with 'lesser gifts', dismissed as of little value(1 Cor.12:21; 12-14 passim cf 'second generation' Jude 19).[57] While Paul was critical of such spiritual arrogance, he undoubtedly recognised the **pneumatikoi** as valuable members of the Corinthian Church and rejoiced that he too had been endowed with charismata including glossolalia. Paul's criticisms are directed, not against the **charismata pneumatica**, but against the arrogance of some of those who claimed these gifts.

Just as the second generation of earliest Christianity, reflected in the Pastorals, became less experiential in its emphasis, rejected the earlier enthusiasm and began to turn dynamism into dogma, so also a large proportion of the second generation of black-British Pentecostals have rejected and are critical of much of their parents' unbridled enthusiasm. In so doing they go the way of all second generation enthusiastic movements and run the risk not only of excluding culturally specific religious behaviour but of becoming so 'respectable' that they exclude the Spirit. The position of both 'first generation' Paul and 'second generation' John seems to lie in a balance between the kerygmatic and Jesus traditions from the past and the ongoing inspiration and presence of the Spirit which is the presence of Jesus (see above and John 14-16).[58]

While post-Enlightenment Western society has, with the exception of a few notable psychologists, ignored dreams, the way in which the earliest 20th century Pentecostals and the first generation black Pentecostals in Britain valued some dreams as a means whereby God communicated His will to them, reflects, not only the importance ascribed to dreams by the ancients and non-Western societies, but by the worshipping communities which produced the Bible. John Eadie in his **Biblical Cyclopaedia** of 1848 typified the rationalistic approach of many Christians when he declared:

> Since the fuller revelation of God's will has been made to us in the Gospel, all confidence in dreams, as indicative of future events, is presumptuous and delusive; and all pretension to the power of interpreting them must be regarded as in the highest degree impious and absurd.[59]

Neither Carl Jung nor the first generation black Pentecostals would agree with him!

In the Old Testament, Yahweh revealed himself in dreams (1 Kings 3:5-15) and visions which generally appear to be synonymous (Job 20:8; 33:14,15; Daniel 2:28; 7:1). In numbers, Yahweh declares:

> When a prophet of the Lord is among you,
> I reveal myself to him in visions,
> I speak to him in dreams (12:6).

Divine guidance was sought in dreams (1 Samuel 28:6) at least some of which were believed to be inspired by the Spirit (Joel 2:28). Others, however, were understood as prompted by worry (Ecclesiastes 5:3) and were considered meaningless (7). While occasional warnings were given concerning false prophets who used dreams to entice people away from the worship of Yahweh (Deut. 13:1-5; Jeremiah 23:25-28; Zechariah 10:2), it is far more common for dreams to be valued as a source of divine encouragement (Judges 7:13-15); promises of divine favour (Genesis 28:12-15; 46:2-4); or warnings of divine displeasure (Genesis 20:3-7 and perhaps also Job 7:13-15). Elihu, one of Job's 'comforters' declares:

> For God does speak - now one way, now another -
> Though man may not perceive it.
> In a dream, in a vision of the night,
> When deep sleep falls on men

As they slumber in their beds,
he may speak in their ears and terrify them with warnings,
To turn man from wrongdoing and keep him from pride,
To preserve his soul from the pit,
His life from perishing by the sword (Job 33:14-18).

The dreams given most prominence in the Old Testament, however, are those which are interpreted as having prophetic (precognitive) significance as in the development of Jacob's descendants as a nation (Genesis 28:12-15; 46:2-4); the exultation of Joseph (37:5-10); the restoration of Pharoah's cupbearer to favour and the execution of his baker (40:5-22; see also 1:17); the seven years of abundance followed by seven years of famine in Egypt (Genesis 41:1-32); the successive empires of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome and the Kingdom of God (Daniel 2:1-45; 7:1-27); and the lycanthrophy of Nebuchadnezzar and his subsequent recovery (Daniel 4:4-37). Both Joseph and Daniel were highly regarded by rulers for their ability to interpret these precognitive dreams.

In the New Testament, dreams are made prominent as the means by which Joseph was told of the conception of Jesus by the Holy Spirit (Matt.1:20,21), warned of Herod's evil intentions (2:12), informed when it was safe to return (19,20) and directed to Galilee (22).[60] Luke accounts for the extension of the early Church's mission into Europe as the result of divine guidance given to Paul in "a vision through (during) the night" (Acts 16:9), and records that Paul also received divine encouragement in this way (18:9;

23:11). Xenophobic Peter's vision at Joppa (Acts 10:9-16) may also have been a dream but is more likely to have been an altered state of consciousness (**ekstasis**), perhaps encouraged by extreme hunger (10), and the experience which Paul writes about in the third person as being "caught up to Paradise" (2 Cor 12:2f) seems to have more in common with the type of near-death ecsomatic experiences which have been widely reported 61 than it does with dreaming. Perhaps Paul's out-of-the-body experience ocurred when he was assumed to be dead after stoning at Lystra (Acts 14:19,20) but this is pure speculation.

That dreams, trance (**ekstasis**) and exsomatic experiences were accepted by the earliest Christians as avenues for receiving divine communications - as they have been by all societies and cultures which have not had their thinking revolutionised by the European Enlightenment - places the understanding of first generation black Pentecostals close to that of the primative church.

Another stream of enthusiasm within the earliest Church, which is also reflected in Pentecostalism is that of apocalyptic Christianity. While Corinthian enthusiasm was primarily Greek, expressed an inaugurated eschatology and emphasised freedom in such a way that it could lead to ethical laxity or worse; apocalyptic enthusiasm, on the other hand, was Jewish in origin, future orientated and emphasised ethical strictness.62 In particular,

apocalyptic Christianity stressed that God is ultimately in control of world history, and that the goal towards which all history is moving is the Second Advent of Christ. It was in the light of this future hope that present sufferings should be seen as part of God's plan and harbingers of the eschaton. Apocalyptic uses the imagery of dream, vision and symbol and draws a clear distinction between the present world or world order which is passing away, and the glorious 'new world' or world order which God is about to create.

Early Pentecostalism in the United States, both black and white, also shared many characteristics of first century apocalyptic Christianity. Visions and dreams were much in evidence as was the ethical rigorism inherited from the Holiness movement. Their was an expectation that the divine was about to break into human affairs with the apocalyptic end of the world (age) and the start of the millenium inaugurated by the Second Advent of Christ. Glossolalia was believed to be an eschatological sign and means of evangelising the world in readiness for the end of human history. The present age was often perceived as irredeemably evil - a cesspool of sin and depravity accelerating towards the "Great Tribulation" and destruction - out of which "souls" could be snatched in preparation for the coming glorious kingdom when the true believers would be resurrected, transformed and glorified to reign with Christ.[63]

All of these characteristics are still to be found with varying degrees of emphasis in both black and white Pentecostalism, with the exception of glossolalia which, though highly valued as the initial evidence of Spirit baptism, is less commonly believed to be a miraculous means of preaching to the polyglot heathen in their native languages. Visions, dreams, ethical rigorism and a sharp world/church dychotomy are still important to first generation black Pentecostals but less so to the second generation and largely irrelevant among most white Pentecostals. All retain some degree of Advent hope but the sense of immediacy is less pervasive. Like the earliest Christians, the high degree of apocalyptic fervency among the Pentecostals gradually abated but continued to influence their beliefs and show brief periods of resurgency.

Similar apocalyptic is found in the teaching of John the Baptist and of Jesus. However, for Jesus there is a strong emphasis on inaugurated eschatology. White Pentecostals have a tendency to focus on the futuristic nature of a millenial kingdom, while black Pentecostals, in common with their ancestors in New World slavery, also bring the future into the present rather as Jesus did.[64] The earliest church believed that they were living in "the last days" (Acts 2:17f) and that the resurrection of Jesus was "the first sheaf of the eschatological harvest" (1 Corinthians

15:20-23). Jesus was the "Son of Man" whose parousia was imminant. Paul's earliest writings, like Mark (13) and the Revelation of John were often apocalyptic in tone and content (see especially 1 Thess. 1:9,10; 4:13-5:11, 23; 2 Thess. 1:4-10; 2:1-12)[65] Apocalyptic, though marginalised in subsequent centuries was an integral part of first century Christianity and has burst forth again and again in Church history. Montanism, medieval millenarianism, the Millerites, the Adventists and Pentecostalism all testify to the vitality of apocalyptic Christianity and to the aversion of the 'mainstream' Church towards this part of her own heritage. The unwillingness of the wider Church to embrace this important strand of her own tradition has meant that it has often found expression outside of her jurisdiction, and she has been the poorer for it.

It is tooearly to predict or quantify the extent to which the black Pentecostals of the second generation will reject their parents' enthusiasm yet remain open to the experience of the Spirit. The second generation currently falls into five broad categories or ideal types: **conformists**, who reflect the beliefs, values and liturgical style of their parents; **pneumatic radicals**, who retain the enthusiasm and experietialism of their parents but are reinterpreting the beliefs and values of black Pentecostalism and rediscovering the social and political dimensions of black Christianity; **intellectual radicals** who approach the same issues as their pneumatic colleagues but

from a primarily cerebral position and, like them are generally being marginalised; the **respectables** who simply despise their parents enthusiasm and are critical of their lack of decorum; and finally, the **rebels** who either leave the sect of their own volition or are "disfellowshiped".

e. PNEUMATIC CHRISTOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY

The pneumatic christology of the black Pentecostals grows out of their unitary experiential encounter with the divine in which Trinitarian distinctions are all but, if not completely, meaningless. Although it has generally received less attention than other christologies, the identification of the ascended Lord with the immanent Spirit is clearly found in the New Testament [66] particularly in Luke, John and Paul. The clear implication in Luke's prologue to the Acts is that it is an account of all that Jesus continued to do and teach through His apostles and the early Church who were now filled with the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:1f, 8; 2:4). In fact, Luke does not distinguish between the activity of the Spirit and the operation of the ascended Christ. Writing of the relation of the Spirit to Jesus in Luke and Acts, Eduard Schweizer states:

> As He who from the very first possessed the Spirit in fullness, Jesus, is after the resurrection the One who dispenses the Spirit to the community, Lk.24:49; Ac.2:33. Necessarily connected herewith is the thought that the Risen Lord Himself encounters His people in this gift of His. Thus the Spirit becomes parallel to the Risen Lord, Lk. 12:12/21:15; Ac.10:14/19; 16:7... The Spirit of God reveals Himself... in Him. Through Him He comes to the community.[67]

In John's Gospel the other **paracletos** which Jesus promises to send among and within His disciples (16:7; cf 1 John 2:1); which the Father sends in Jesus' name (15:26); comes to testify about Jesus (15:26), to glorify Jesus (16:14) and is spoken of as already with them as the earthly Jesus is with then (John 14:16,17). In fact, Jesus assures His disciples that he will not leave them Fatherless (**orphanos**) but will return to them as the Spirit (18,28; 16:16) and thus indwell them (20) and with the Father make His home with them (23).

For Paul, Christ is the "last Adam" who is not mearly a being to whom life has been given but the life giving Spirit himself (1 Cor 15:45). Furthermore, he equates **pneuma** with both **kurios**, **Christos**, and **Theos**. In 2 Corinthians 3:17 and 18 the exalted Lord is identified with the Spirit and in Romans 8:1-11 "Christ", the "Spirit of Christ", "God's Spirit" and the "Spirit" are used without apparent distinction. Schweizer argues that Paul is seeking to state the power into whose sphere the believer has come. "This power," he writes,

> is not anonymous or unknown. It is identical with the exalted Lord once this Lord is considered, not in Himself, but in His work towards the community. The metaphysical question of the relation between God, Christ and the Spirit is hardly alluded to by Paul at all. For this reason it would be a mistake to think Paul finds in "the third person of the Trinity" the original meaning of **pneuma**... It could well be that the question of the personality of the **pneuma** is wrongly put, since neither Hebrew nor Greek has this word. Paul shares with Judaism and the primitive Christian community the view that the **pneuma** is a gift and power of the last time. He has no desire to

> set aside "power" in favour of "person," but it is a concern of His that this power is not an obscure something, but the manner in which the **kurios** is present in the community. This explains the equation with and subordination to the **kurios**, 2C.3:17f. Sometimes Paul can use **theos**, **kurios** and **pneuma** together because their encounter with the believer is one and the same event. This is plainest in 1C.12:4-6, not merely because the three terms are fully parallel here, but also because the **pneuma**, as manifest in the life of the community, is now distinguished with linguistic precision as **phanerosis tou pneumatos** [manifestation of the Spirit] (v.7) from the source of this work. [See also 2 Corinthians 3:13; Romans 5:1-5 and Galatians 4:4-6.]68

Paul's use of **theos**, **kurios**, **christos** and **pneuma** as practically synonymous because "their encounter with the believer is one and the same event" is a most important concept in understanding the pneumatological christology of the black Pentecostals. Because their authentic, implicit theology grows out of their experience of divine **encounter** rather than reflection on the biblical texts, there is little need to define the Spirit in abstract Trinitarian terms. On the contrary, like Paul, they tend to define the Spirit in operational terms as the saving presence and power of the exalted Christ in the midst of His people.

This being so, it is not surprising that the black Pentecostals also have a pneumatic soteriology. If Christ is perceived as present with them and at work among and within them as the Holy Spirit, then Christ's power to save is experienced and understood in pneumatic terms.

We have already briefly examined the role of the Spirit in inspiring the prophets to declare the Word of God and we

saw how post-exilic Judaism sought to supress the oral, pneumatic proclamations of the prophets in favour of a fixed infallible Torah (Law) which was now perceived as God's last and final word. This tension between orality and textuality; between Spirit and written word, is to some degree mirrored in the way contemporary Christians from primarily oral or primarily literary cultures come to recognise salvation. When people look to the Bible for salvation there is a strong tendency for that salvation to be thought of as cognitive, intellectual and related to what one believes. The very nature of the written medium encourages such an approach. On the other hand, the implicit pneumatic soteriology of the black Pentecostals - which is so often expressed in song and testimony - directs attention to the Spirit because salvation has been **experienced.** For black Pentecostals there has been an affective and experiential apprehension of salvation. People for whom salvation is an experiental or insightful event and living experience rather than a cognitive process (or insightful event), will locate their experience in the immediacy of encounter with the Spirit rather than in a passive literary or cognitive revelation of Christ. Furthermore, if Christ is to be confessed orally before the congregation (cf Romans 10:9) then such a proclamation must be provoked by the Spirit rather than the written text.

While the redemption which God provided through Christ transcends whatever can be either written or said about it,

salvation is regularly alluded to in terms of responding to the oral kerygma (Romans 10:17; Acts 2:37 etc cf Luke 8:15) and John, in particular, identified the spoken words of Jesus with the Spirit of life (John 6:63, cf 68).

When the Old Testament writers wished to express the activity of the transcendent God in relation to creation, providence and salvation history, they often avoided making anthropomorphic statements by refering to such activity as the 'Word of God', 'Wisdom of God' or 'Spirit of God'. In the New Testament, Christ is explicitly identified as the 'Word of God', 'Wisdom of God' and also the 'Power of God' but not as the 'Spirit of God'. During the days of His flesh, the Spirit was portrayed in the Gospels as to some extent separate from Christ. Thus the Spirit is represented as responsible for the paternity of Jesus (Matthew 1:18; Luke 1:35), coming upon Him at His baptism, and empowering Him for His ministry (Matthew 3:16; John 1:32; Acts 10:38). However, as we have shown, after his ascension, the distinction between Christ and the Spirit becomes increasingly blurred. According to Paul, the Spirit of adoption which inspires the child of God to call Him 'Daddy' [Abba] (Romans 8:13ff; Galatians 4:6) is also the deposit, pledge or guarantee of ultimate redemption (Ephesians 1:13,14; 2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5). According to John's Gospel, regeneration is the work of the Spirit granted to those who put their faith in the Son of God (John 3:1-18; 2:31-36). As the **Ruach Yahweh** was the life breath of

creation (Genesis 1:2; 2:7, etc) He, She or It is also the Spirit of Life breathed into the new creation (1 Cor 15:45; John 6:63; 20:22; Romans 8:11; 2 Cor. 3:6; cf Acts 2:2-4; Revelation 11:11; Hebrews 6:4-6; 10:26-29). This life-giving Spirit is identified by Paul as Jesus Christ, the "last Adam" (1 Cor.15:45).

The Holy Spirit does the work of the ascended Christ among the community of faith. The presence of the Spirit with and in the Church is the presence and power of Jesus himself who is both Lord and Christ. God's salvation, wrought in Christ and appropriated by faith is imparted by the Spirit of Life who inspires God's children to call Him 'Daddy' and is a pledge of that divine fullness of life which is yet to come. Among the diverse christologies and soteriologies which appear in the New Testament - many in embryonic form - one finds both a pneumatic christology and a pneumatic soteriology which are little different to those of the black Pentecostals.

f. THE SIMPLE BAPTISMAL FORMULA

One of the most distinctive departures from what is generally considered to be orthodoxy, is the insistence of the Oneness Pentecostals that water baptism should be administered using the name of Jesus rather than the triadic formula of Matt 28:19. We have already reviewed the Oneness Pentecostal's rationale for this practice but the

evidence of the New Testament also suggests that the earliest church also administered water baptism using the simple formula: "in the name of Jesus" (Acts 2:38;8:16;10:48;19:5). Dunn suggests that the use of this phrase,

> means either that the baptizer saw himself acting as a representative of the exalted Jesus (cf particularly 3:6,16; 4:10 with 9:34), or that the baptisand saw his baptism as his act of commitment to discipleship of Jesus (cf 1 Cor 1:12-16)... Quite probably both were implied... the first Christians... needed **a tangible way of expressing faith towards one who was no longer visibly present** (cf eg Luke 7:3f, 48-50)... The Greek accounting formula, 'into the name of', meant 'to the account of', and strengthened the suggestion that baptism was recognised as **a deed of transfer, an act whereby the baptisand handed himself over to be the property or disciple of the one named...** [cf 1 Cor 1:12-15] [69]

Furthermore, argues Dunn, the evidence "strongly suggests that the triadic formulation of Matt 28:19 is a late expansion of the simpler and earlier formula 'in the name of Jesus'."[70]

In all of the extant manuscripts (including the two earliest: Sinaiticus and Vaticanus) and versions, the text is found in the traditional triadic form with the exception of the best African Old Latin and Synatic Syriac versions which have the last pages of Matthew missing. It is worth reminding ourselves, however, that the oldest manuscripts of Matthew date from the 4th century and consequently the quotations from the New Testament found in the patristic writings are **earlier** than the extant New Testament manuscripts. One such writer was Eusebius Pamphili (c

270-340) who had access to the greatest Christian library of that age which had been collected by Origen and Pamphilus at Caesarea - a library in which were codices of the Gospels which were two hundred years older than any extant manuscript.

In 1901, F C Conybeare demonstrated that on the 18 (or 21) occasions when Eusebeius quoted Matt 28:19, he omitted any reference to the triadic formula. Conybeare states:

> Eusebius cites this text [Matt 28:19] again and again in works between 300 and 336... I have, after a moderate search of these works of Eusebius, found eighteen citations of Matthew 28:19, and always in the following form: 'Go ye and make disciples of all the nations **in my name**, teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I commanded you'... And Eusebius is not content merely to cite the verse in this form, but he more than once comments on it in such a way as to show how much he sets store by the words 'in my name'. Thus in his **Demonstratio Evangelica** he writes thus (col 240, p 136): 'For He did not enjoin them "to make disciples of all the nations" simply and without qualification, but with the essential addition "in his name". For so great was the virtue attaching to this appellation that the Apostle says, "God bestowed on him the name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and on earth and under the earth." It was right therefore that he should emphasise the virtue of the power residing in his name but hidden from the many, and therefore say to his Apostles, "go ye, and make disciples of all nations in my name."71

Furthermore, continues Conybeare:

> It is evident that this was the text found by Eusebius in the very ancient codices collected fifty to a hundred and fifty years before his birth by his great predecessors. Of any other form of text he had never heard and knew nothing until he visited Constantinople and attended the Council of Nice.72

In Eusebius' later writings we do find the triadic text on four occasions but there is evidence to suggest that the

Syriac translator is quoting the text with which he is familiar rather than quoting Eusebius, and the authorship is suspect. "It is clear therefore," writes Conybeare,

> that of the MSS which Eusebius inherited from his predecessor, Pamphilus, at Caeserea in Palestine, some at least preserved the original reading, in which there was no mention either of Baptism or of Father, Son and Holy Ghost.73

Justin Martyr, writing between 130 and 140, appears to cite the same text which Eusebius quoted from some 160 to 200 years later:

> God hath not yet afflicted nor inflicts the judgement, as knowing of some that still even to-day are being made disciples in the name of his Christ... who also receive gifts each as they be worthy, being illuminated by the name of this Christ.74

During the second half of the fourth century the triune formula became the battle cry of the orthodox in the fight against the followers of Macedonius who denied the place of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity. They argued that there was no New Testament text which authorised the coordination of the Spirit with the Father and the Son. If the triadic formula was original to Matthew 28:19, then such a claim would have been preposterous. It would appear that the texts used by this group agreed with those used by Justin and Eusebius. Finally, Aphraates, who wrote between 337 and 345, cites the text in a form which appears to be a gloss of the Eusebian reading "in my name." Apharaates wrote, "Make disciples of all nations, and they shall believe in me."

Thus, the evidence from Eusebius points to an early text of Matt 28:19 which ommited the triadic baptismal formula. Eusebius is not alone, for there are indications of a 'Eusebian' type text in Justin Martyr, Hermas and among the followers of Macedonius and Aphraates. We should not be surprised that all surviving texts of Matthew 28:19 are triadic, for after the Council of Nice the orthodoxy of the Trinity was to be established at any cost.

A literary analysis of the accounts of Jesus' parting words leads us to similar conclusions. The account in Mark's Gospel (16:15-18), which does not appear in the best manuscripts, is generally believed to have been based on Matthew and Luke. If this is so, then it does not support the triadic formula, on the contrary, it also accords with the 'Eusebian' text. Similarly, both Luke 24:47 and John 20:21-23 are silent concerning both the triadic formula and baptism, and thus in harmony with Eusebius.

The references to baptism in Acts almost certainly pre-date that of Matthew 28:19. Whenever a formula is alluded to in Acts it is never in its triadic form but is twice "in (on) the name of Jesus Christ" (2:38;10:48) and twice "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (8:16;19:5). That this was the earliest formula is also supported by the Pauline epistles which refer to being "baptised into Christ Jesus" (Romans 6:3) and "baptised into Christ" (Galatians 3:27 cf 1 Cor.1:12,13). The silence of the New Testament regarding

the use of the triune formula in baptism strongly suggests that Dunn is correct when he describes it as "a late expansion of the simpler and earlier formula".

Of the Apostolic Fathers, Clement and Ignatious are silent, Barnabus refers only once to baptism, and while he gives no explicit formula, he does associate it with "Jesus" and "the Spirit":

> ...we go down into the water full of sins and pollutions, but come up again; bringing forth fruit; having in our hearts the fear and hope which is in Jesus, by the Spirit.75

The Shepherd of Hermas is more concerned with the doctrine of baptism than its practice:

> ...your life is and shall be saved by water: for it [ie the Church] is founded by the word of the Almighty the Honourable Name, and is supported by the invisible power and virtue of God.76

The reference to water almost certainly concerns baptism and it is quite probable that "the Almighty and Honourable Name" is that of Jesus. The Didache while commanding: "baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, in living water" and advocating that water be poured thrice over the head "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" (Ch.7) in cases where there is insufficient for immersion, also admonishes: "Let none eat or drink of your Eucharist, save such as are baptized into the name of the Lord" (Ch.9).

Not until the time of Justin Martyr and Iranius (c 112-150) do we have triune immersion definitely connected with

Matthew 28:19, but Justin himself appears to have been ignorant of the triune formula in Matthew for he justifies its use on the basis of Isaiah and Apostolic tradition, and in his dialogue with Trypho speaks of disciples being made "in the name of his [ie God's] Christ" and "illuminated by the name of his Christ" (39, p 258). When Tertullian was writing, however (c 160-240), the most common practice seems to have been trine immersion using the triune formula.77

Thus the simple formula found in Acts was probably still used by Hermas, but by the time of Justin Martyr the triune formula had become general, as had trine immersion by the end of the second century. However, there is evidence that the simple formula was still occasionally used. In the third century, Steven may have accepted it and the anonymous author of **De Rebaptismate** certainly did. He dwells at length on "the power of the name of Jesus invoked upon a man by Baptism."78 The continued use of the simple formula during the third and fourth centuries is evidenced by the writings which opposed the practice. Cyprian (Epistle 73) and the Apostolic Canons (No.50) attack its use:

> If any Bishop or Presbyter fulfil not three baptisms of one initiation, but one baptism which is given (as) into the death of the Lord, let him be deposed.79

This was the formula used by the followers of Eunomius (c 360) who baptised "not into the trinity, but into the death

of Christ" and accordingly used single rather than 'orthodox' triple immersion (the latter practice is still used in the Eastern churches). A century later, we find single immersion into Christ in Spain and, ironically, it is now a badge of orthodoxy in opposition to the practice of the Arians who used triple immersion to set forth their teaching of a gradation in the three 'Persons' of the Trinity.

In the light of the flimsy New Testament evidence for the triadic formula, the likelihood of an earlier 'Eusebian' text in Matthew - **brevior lectio potior** - and the diversity of practice in the early centuries of the Christian Church, the Oneness Pentecostal's practice of baptising in Jesus' name has a claim to orthodoxy which is at least as strong, if not stronger than, that of the triadic formula.

g. PENTECOSTAL MODALISM

Dr South is credited with the statement:

> The Trinity is a fundamental article of Christian religion, and he that denieth it may lose his soul, so that he who strives to understand it may lose his wits.

Similarly the Athanasian creed declares regarding the Trinity that:

> This is the Catholick Faith: which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved.

And it is still and offence under the 1697 Blasphemy Act to doubt the Trinity!

Oneness Pentecostals, however, inhabit a spectrum of belief which varies from Sabellianism (God has revealed Himself in three temporary consecutive manifestations), through modalism (three temporary revelations), revelational and economic trinitarianism (three temporary modes of being) to Barth's Trinity of God who has three eternal "modes of existence."[80] While most Oneness Pentecostals have heard of neither Sabellius nor Barth, their understandings of God are in many ways remarkably similar. They are, however, not interested in the ontological nature of the Godhead for such considerations are far removed from their pragmatic spirituality of experiential encounter. For them, the God of experience is encountered in a unitary way. To feel the Spirit is to experience God; to be filled with the Spirit is to have Christ within. For Oneness Pentecostals, Jesus, as well as being man, is quite simply God.

On turning to the New Testament we find Paul identifying Christ as "the wisdom of God" (1 Cor.1:24) and by doing so affirming His pre-existence (Proverbs 3:19; 8:22-31; 1 Cor.8:6; Colossians 1:15-17). For Judaism, however, wisdom was not a **hypostasis** or a 'person' within the Godhead but "a personification of God's immanence."[81] Thus, for Paul, Christ was a manifestation of God. Similarly, the writer of Hebrews also describes Jesus in the language of pre-existent wisdom (1:2-14) but goes further than Paul in implying personal pre-existence (7:3, 15,16; 10:5-7; 3:8). It is in John's Gospel, however, written near the end of

the first century, that Jesus is represented as being **conscious** of a personal pre-existence (John 8:56-58; 3:13; 6:33-35, 38, 41, 46, 48-51, 58, 61). We do not have the idea of 'eternal sonship' here but rather the pre-existant Logos who becomes the son of God in Jesus (John 1:14). It is also possible that John's concept of the Logos was more Semetic than Greek.[82] If this was so, then the Greek word **Logos** may simply represent the Aramaic **Memra**. In the Targums, the term **Memra** (Word) is used in conjunction with Yahweh or Yah on every occasion where God is visibly manifest, where bodily characteristics are ascribed to Him, or anthropomorphism implied. For example, the Targums declare that the **Memra Yah** created man, walked in Eden, talked to Abraham and gave the law at Sinai. Genesis 28:20 in the Targums reads,

> ...Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If the **Word of the Lord** will be my help... then should the **Word of the Lord be my God.**

If this identity between the **Memra** of the Targums and the **Logos** of John is correct, then Jesus is being described as the revelation or manifestation of God. Certainly for John, Jesus pre-existed as the **Logos**, and the **Logos**, like the **Memra Yah**, was a way of talking about God as the creator who has revealed Himself to man while at the same time maintaining His invisibility and transcendence (John 1:1-3,18 with Psalm 33:6; John 6:51,62 cf Hebrews 1:2-12).

There is a development over time from Paul's idea of Christ as a manifestation of God (cf Colossians 2:9) through the

Hebrew Epistle's implication of personal pre-existence, to the assertion of a personal pre-existence as God found in John and the Pastorals (John 1:1,18; 20:28; Titus 2:13). There are also other christologies in the New Testament: the 'Divine Man' of some Hellenistic Christianity, the eschatological christology of the earliest Christians, [83] the soteriological christology of Paul, Mark and John, and the adoptionist christology of Luke and Q. What all these christologies have in common is the affirmation that Jesus, the man who was crucified, is now the exalted Lord, but beyond this, first century Christianity is characterised by diversity which is often apparently self contradictory.[84]

The 'orthodox' formulations of later centuries were a development of some, but no my means all, of these christologies. As such, they often amalgamate various christological strands in such a way that the result is a fusion of disparate elements which can only be made internally consistent at the cost of considerable development and re-interpretation. Other christologies are largely ignored and their subsequent development branded as heresies by the 'ruling party'. We must remember that Dr South's "fundamental article of Christian religion" took over 400 years to develop into forms and creeds which are accepted by the major denominations today.

The Apostle Paul simply declares that in Jesus, "all the fullness of Diety lives in bodily form" (Colossians 2:9),

speaks of Christ as an object of worship and prays to Him (Romans 10:13; 1 Corinthians 1:2; Philippians 2:10; 2 Corinthians 12:8; 1 Thessalonians 3:11f). Moreover, writes Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Paul "represents Christ as existing before he appeared upon earth, and that not as a man or an angel but as a being in the form of God, the image of the invisible God through whom and unto whom all things were created [1 Corinthians 10:4; 2 Corinthians 4:4; 8:9; Philippians 2:6; Colossians 1:15f]."[85] Similarly, John speaks of the **Logos** as, not only with God, but as being God. The **Logos** who was God "became flesh and made His dwelling among us" (1:14). John also has Jesus saying, "I and the Father are one"; "Anyone who has seen me has seen the Father"; "before Abraham became, I am." After his resurrection, Thomas is recorded as having addressed Jesus as "my Lord and my God"; and in John's fist Epistle, Jesus is spoken of as "the true God." Similarly, in 2 Peter, which probably dates from around the middle of the century, He is spoken of as "our God and Saviour Jesus Christ" (1:1).

When we leave the Scriptures, we still find the Deity of Jesus being stressed by Gentile Christians. Ignatius, who was Bishop of Antioch in the early second century, constantly refers to Christ as God. For example, he says, "I glorify Jesus Christ, the God who has thus given you wisdom" (Epistle to the Smyrnaeans 1). A little later in the second century, Polycarp wrote of "our Lord and God,

Jesus Christ." Melito of Sardis declared: "God suffered at the hand of Israel." [86] In the Acts of John we read: "Glory be to thee, my Jesus, the only God of truth."[87] In the Acts of Peter: "in thy name have I spoken for thou did'st appear unto us O God Jesus Christ," [88] and in the Acts of Thomas: "I give thanks to thee, Lord Jesus, that thou hast revealed thy truth in these men. For thou alone art the God of truth and not another."[89]

Such language which speaks of Jesus as God is common throughout the early history of the Church and for the simple Gentile believer such statements were sufficient. However, for the more sophisticated thinkers, including some who had been influenced by Greek or Druidic philosophy - most notably Tertullian, Presbyter of Carthage (c 155-222AD), Athanasius, Deacon of Alexandria (c296-373AD) and Hilary, the Gaulish Celtic Bishop of Poitiers (c315-373AD) - an explanation of the relationship between Jesus of Nazareth and God the Father was required. And eventually the place of the Holy Spirit had to be defined as well.[90]

The development of the Trinitarian creeds, however, were primarily a reaction against those third century theologians who sought to defend the indivisible unity of God: the dynamic monarchians, adoptionists and, most importantly, the Arians.[91]

A second group of theologians, however, sought to defend both the unity of God and the full deity of Christ against the idea that he was subordinate to the Father. This was called modalistic monarchianism, or simply modalism. Sometimes it was also referred to as Sabellianism after one of its chief exponents, Sabellius, or patripassianism because opponents accused them of crucifying the Father. Tertullian wrote criticising one of the modalists called Praxesas:

> He champions the unity of God, the omnipotent creator of the world, only to make out of that unity a heresy. He says the Father himself descended into the virgin, was himself born of her, himself suffered; in fact the he himself was Jesus Christ... he put the Paraclete to flight and crucified the Father (Tertullian, ADV.Praxean, 1).

Tertullian is probably unfair in accusing Praxeas of having "crucified the Father". It seems unlikely that Praxeas said that the Father suffered, but another of the modalists called Noetus, almost certainly did. Hippolytus quotes him as saying

> Christ is Himself the Father, and the Father Himself was born and suffered and died... when the Father had not yet been born, He was rightly called the Father; but when it pleased Him to submit to birth, having been born, He became the Son, He of Himself and not of another.

Sabellius, probably the most important of the modalists, taught that the one God had revealed himself in three different temporary manifestations or 'modes'. The names Father, Son and Holy Spirit are simply three roles or phases which God used to progressively manifest himself. God reveals himself as Father in creation and in the giving

of the Law, as Son in the incarnation, and as Holy Spirit in regeneration and sanctification. Ephiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, writing c 375 states that:

> Their doctrine is, that Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one and the same being, in the sense that three names are attached to one substance (Adv. haereses, 112,1).

Sabellius did refer to Father, Son and Holy Spirit as **persona** but the ambiguity of the term meaning face, mask or role meant that it was probably a more congenial word for him than it was for the Trinitarian Augustine who only used it "in order not to be silent."

Modalism, writes McGiffert, "was rejected by the leading theologians of the third century... and came to be universally recognised as a heresy." He goes on to point out, however, that:

> There was nothing in it to outrage traditional Christian piety, as was the case with Gnosticism, but its unphilosphical character was very offensive to the theologians of the age and it fell before the growing philosophy of the day...92

Had the Church not been so influenced by Greek philosophy and metaphysical speculations, the necessary underpinning for the doctrine of the Trinity may never have been formulated. For the non-theologian and those not versed in Platonic philosophy, however, the concept of Trinity was largely redundant. Tertullian bemoaned the fact that both Latins and Greeks,

> For all the simple people, that I say not the thoughtless and ignorant (who are always the majority of the faithful), since the Rule of the Faith itself brings [us] over from the many gods of the world to

> the one only true God, not understanding that while they must believe in one [God] only yet they must believe in him along with his economy, shy at economy. They claim that the plurality and ordinance of trinity is a division of unity - although a unity which derives from itself a trinity is not destroyed but administered by it. And so [people] put it about that by us two or even three [gods] are preached, while they, they claim, are worshippers of one God - as though unity irrationally summed up did not make heresy and trinity rationally counted out constitute truth.[93]

Seventeen centuries later, Lutheran [94] theologian, Robert W Jenson, writing of both modalism and subordinationism declares:

> They are precisely as common and contrary to the gospel now as in the second and third centuries.[95]

Whether or not we agree with Jenson's second assertion, the first, written from his North American perspective, suggests that the majority of New World Christians are 'heretics'. Michael Haykin comments that,

> Jenson has recently asserted that since its appearance in the late second century, modalism has been the standard Trinitarian belief of most Christian congregations.[96]

Thus the modalistic Oneness Pentecostals appear to be part of the mainstream of popular belief even if it is castigated by some as 'heretical'. On the other hand, Dutch evangelical theologian Klaas Runia writes:

> I have a suspicion that many church people deviate from it [the doctrine of the Trinity], to one side or the other. Some are virtually 'tri-theists': the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit are regarded practically as three separate Gods.[97] Others are virtually unitarians: in the practise of their faith the Father alone is God, while Jesus Christ is seen as a special man who reveals the Father, and the Holy Spirit is for them a power rather than a divine Person.[98]

Perhaps, in the light of Dr South's assertion that "he who

strives to understand" the trinity "may lose his wits!" it is not surprising that during both the third century and the twentieth, most ordinary Christians are not really Trinitarians. Theologian and philosopher, Michael Durrant, argues that the Augustinian formulation of the Trinity and its philosophical underpinning are quite unintelligible,[99] and in 1978, G W H Lampe responded to the question, "what future is there for the traditional, classical, doctrine of the Trinity," with the cryptic statement, "Not much".[100] In saying this, he was suggesting that the traditional 'orthodox' Trinitarian model is not meaningful for most twentieth century Christians. Peter Baelz, Dean of Durham, declares:

> What attracts me about the gospels is the sense that this mysterious, incomprehensible God is at the same time, nearer to us than breathing. Though I wouldn't go to the stake for the doctrine of the Trinity - and I don't believe in the doctrine of the Trinity - I believe in what the doctrine is trying to express. I think it is trying to say that God is **both:** He who is beyond our understanding, but He who gives Himself to us through His creation, redemption and Spirit; so that God is both beyond and within. I won't let go of either of these poles.[101]

To such a statement most Oneness Pentecostals would respond with an enthusiastic, Amen!

If the modalism of the black Pentecostals is deemed to be 'heretical' then we find them in the company of most of grass-root christendom from the first century to the present, which has worshipped the Father who is revealed in the Son and encountered in the Spirit. More than a century ago, Friedrich Schleiermacher followed Kant by refusing to

be drawn into metaphysical speculation. Taking religious experience of absolute dependence on God as his basis for theology he - like the early modalists and Oneness Pentecostals - concluded that:

> We have only to do with the God-consciousness given in our self-consciousness along with our consciousness of the world; hence we have no formula for the being of God in Himself as distinct from the being of God in the world, and we should have to borrow any such formula from speculation...[102]

Shall we condemn the explicitly modalistic doctrine of the Oneness Pentecostals and the implicitly non-Trinitarian theology of most three-stage Pentecostals as heretical simply because it is neither philosophically sophisticated nor ontologically speculative?

At best, all theological attempts to describe and explain the relationships between the the transcendent Father, the internal Spirit who is at work in creation, re-creation and inspiration and the historical Jesus of Nazareth can only be relative, partial and provisional.

Notes and References

1. Bauer, Walter, **Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity**, Philidelphia: Fortress Press, 1971 (originally published in German, 1934).
A century before C F Baur had postulated a conflict between Pauline and Peterine Christianity: between Hellenistic and Jewish forms, which led to the realisation that even earliest Christianity was neither monolithic or united in its teaching.

2. Dunn, James D G, **Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Enquiry Into the Character of Earliest Christianity**, London: SCM Press, 1977, p 3.

3. Coester, H, 'Gnomai Diaphoroi: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity' in Robinson, J M and Coester, H (eds), **Trajectories Through Early Christianity**, Philidelphia: Fortress Press, 1971, p.117, quoted in Dunn, p 5.

4. Dunn, p 6.

5. Dodd, C H, **The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments**, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1936, p 17.
Dunn, pp 11,12.

6. Dodd, Ibid.

7. Dunn, p 30.

8. See Dunn, p 32.

9. Dunn, p 57.

10. Ibid, p 59.

11. The confessions of faith inherited from white Pentecostals in the United States have little real meaning for most black Pentecostals.

12. Kelber, Werner H, **The Oral and Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul and Q**, Philidelphia: Fortress Press, p 203.

13. Beare, Frank W, 'Sayings of the Risen Jesus in the Synoptic Tradition: An Enquiry into their Origin and Significance', in Farmer, W R; Moule, C F D and Neibuhr, R R, **Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, p 170, quoted in Kelber, p 206.

14. Dunn, pp 124-132.

15. Ibid, p 149.

16. See Ibid, pp 127-131.

17. Ibid, p 129.

18. See Dunn, pp 199,200.

19. Kelber, pp XV,XVI.

20. See for example Grant, F C, **The Gospels: Their Origin and Their Growth**, New York: Hippocrene Books, 1985 (originally 1957) and an excellent summary of New Testament criticism by an evangelical: Ladd, George Eldon, **The New Testament and Criticism**, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eerdmans, 1967.
Clearly the Gospels do not contain the 'whole story' of Jesus. On what basis then was the selection of material made? Kelber notes that: "If the oral medium is entrusted with the preservation of information, it will control the data to be selected, the values to be preserved, and therefore the kind of Jesus to be transmitted. Lest he be forgotten, he must comply with oral requirements... Oral useability prompts the linguistic conduct that prefers type over character, action over tranquility, extravagance over ordinariness, confrontation over harmony and formularity for fortuity... if Jesus is to be continued in the hearts and minds of people, then he must be filtered through the oral medium. What is summoned for transmission is fashioned for mnemonic purposes and selected for immediate relevancy, not primarily for historical reasons... In some, orality's principle concern is not to preserve historical actuality, but to shape and break it into memorable applicable speech." Having reduced the data on Jesus by oral processing a further drastic reduction took place as a result of the production of written gospels. Textuality results in social and psychological decontextualization. Words are now "bereft of the context of communality shared by speaker and hearers alike." Oral diversity is synchronised and forced into the linear direction dictated by textuality. Writing of Marken textuality, Kelber asserts that whether one perceives it "as a silencing of sounded words, or the termination of the dialogical situation, or the disruption of the homeostatic balance, or the attenuation of hearers' participation, or the breakdown of the oral synthesis, or the linearization of oral pluralism, or a decontextualisation of words from their authentic oral matrix, its impact on the oral legacy is one of elementary disorientation... While it remains valid that the [written] gospel is composed by frequent recourse to orality, it is not until the latter is uprooted and transformed that the textual construct can take shape. Strictly speaking, therefore, the [written] gospel arises not from orality **per se**, but out of the debris of deconstructed orality." Thus the living Jesus of history

15. Ibid, p 149.

16. See Ibid, pp 127-131.

17. Ibid, p 129.

18. See Dunn, pp 199,200.

19. Kelber, pp XV,XVI.

20. See for example Grant, F C, **The Gospels: Their Origin and Their Growth**, New York: Hippocrene Books, 1985 (originally 1957) and an excellent summary of New Testament criticism by an evangelical: Ladd, George Eldon, **The New Testament and Criticism**, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eerdmans, 1967.
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became the sounded Jesus of orality and then the silent Jesus of textuality. The living words of oral dialogical proclamation which 'died' even as they were spoken, were superceded by silent written words with the a kind of immortal existence outside of social discourse. Kelber, pp 71, 94, 95.

21. Kelber, pp 14,15.

22. Ong, Walter J, **The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History**, New Haven, Conneticut: Yale University Press, 1967, p 55.

23. Kelber, p 24.

24. See Kelber, pp 24-31.

25. Eusebius, **Church History**, V,8,2,3.

26. Ibid, III, 39,4.
Mark writes his gospel with the death of the Apostles or, as Kelber argues, Mark's consciousness of the shortcomings of orality and his belief in the failure of oral transmission. See Kelber, pp 97-105.

27. Kelber,p 93.

28. Dunn, p 77.

29. Ibid, p 77,78.

30. Ibid, p 101.

31. **The Christian Verdict**, Essay 15, 1984, p 3.

32. Ibid, pp 4,5.

33. Ibid, p 5.

34. Ibid, p 6.

35. Ibid, p 8.

36. Kelber,, pp 144 - 147.

37. Funk, Robert W, 'Saying and Seeing: Phenomenology of Language in the New Testament' in **JBR**, 34, 1966, p 212, quoted in Kelber, p 145.

38. Kelber, pp 145,146.

39. Ibid, pp 165,166.

40. Ibid, pp 158,159.

41. Ong, quoted in Kelber, p 158.

42. Kelber, pp 163,164.

43. Young, Frances M, 'Redemption - The Starting Point of Christian Theology - II' in **The Expository Times**, 89, October 1977, pp 9,10.

44. Kelber, pp 18,19.

45. **The Christian Verdict**, Essay 16, p 5.

46. Kelber, p 194.

47. Dunn, pp 277-279,282.

48. See Ibid, p 198.

49. Ibid, p 157.
See also 1 Corinthians 12:13.

50. The 10th to 11th Century Byzantine mystic, Symeon, maintained that only the "second baptism" of "the Spirit" or "of tears" made a person a real Christian, and that this baptism was experiental rather than merely intellectual.
Tugwell, S, **Did You Receive the Spirit**, London: Darton, Longmann and Todd, 1972, pp 52 ff.

51. Dunn, p 176.

52. Ibid, p 177.

53. Ibid, p 192-194.

54. Ibid, pp 194,195.

55. Ibid, p 195.

56. Ibid, pp 227-279, 282.

57. cf 'second generation' Jude 19.

58. My use of the term 'pneumatic' is not meant to imply any Gnostic type distinction with 'hylic' but is used simply as an adjective to describe that which is of the Spirit.

59. Eadie, John, **A Biblical Cyclopaedia**, London: Charles Griffin & Co, 1868 (originally 1848), p 225.

60. For a Jungian interpretation of Joseph's dream see Walsh, John A, 'The Dream of Joseph: A Jungian Interpretation' in **Journal of Psychology and Theology**, Vol 11, No 1, Spring 1983, pp 20-27.

61. See for example, Kubler-Ross, Elizabeth, **Death: The Final Stage of Growth**, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1975; Moody, Raymond, **Life After Death**, Covington: Mockingbird, 1975; Holzer, Hans, **Beyond This Life**, Los Angeles: Pinnacle Books, 1969. cf An evangelical critique: Weldon, John and Levitt, Zola, **Is There Life After Death?**, Eastbourne: Kingsway Publications, 1977.

62. Dunn, pp 337,338.

63. cf Ibid, pp 307-316.

64. cf Ibid, pp 316-322.

65. For a more comprehensive analysis of New Testament apocalyptic writings see Dunn, pp 325-334.

66. Matthew 18:20; Mark 13:11 with Luke 21:14,15. cf Exodus 4:12 and Acts 6:10 and note the connection between orality and the Spirit.

67. Schweizer, Eduard, 'Pneuma, Pneumatikos...' in Friedrich, Gerhard (Ed), **Theological Dictionary of the New Testament** (English tr and ed, Bromley, Geoffrey W), vol VI, Grand Rapids, Michigan: W B Eerdmans, 1968, pp 405, 406.

68. Ibid, pp 433.434.

69. Dunn, pp 155,156,158,159.

70. Ibid, pp 155,156. It is noteworthy that the well known Trinitarian interpolation of 1 John 5:7 was first cited by Priscillian who was the first heretic to be burnt alive by the Church in the year 385. It is probable that the Latin Fathers mistook Cyprian's (died 258) comment on the text for a citation and thus copied it.

71. Conybeare, F C, **Textual Criticism of the New Testament**, 1901. An almost identical quotation is also found in Conybeare, F C, **History of New Testament Criticism**, London: Watts and Co for the Rationalist Press Association, 1910, pp 69,70. See also Gibbon, Chapter 37.

72. Conybeare, F C, in **Hibbert Journal**, 1902.

73. Conybeare, **Textual Criticism.**

74. Martyr, Justin, **Dialouge with Trypho**, 39, p 258.

75. Barnabus II, last paragraph.

76. Hermas, Vision 3, Chapter 3.

77. **De Corona 3; Adversus Praxean**, 26

78. **De Rebapatismate**, 6:7.

79. **Apostolic Canons**, No.50.

80. Barth, Karl, **Church Dogmatics**, (tr, Bromley, G W and Torrance, T F,), vol 1, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1975, pp 300-400.

81. Dunn, p 221.

82. cf Howard, W F, **Christianity According to John**, Philidelphia: Fortress Press, 1946, p 47; Phythian-Adams, W P, 'The Logos Doctrine of the Fourth Gospel' in **Church Quarterly Review**, No 139, 1944, pp 1-23.

83. When we examine the kerygmatic Christ - or more correctly the Christ of the kerygmata - expressed by the earliest Christians, he is Son of Man, Messiah, Son of God and Lord. These post-resurrection titles express the eschatological hope of Christ's imminent parousia, and even kerygmatic emphasis on His resurrection is more than just a vindication of His claims and exalted status; it is the inauguration of the 'last days' and the prototype of the general resurrection (Dunn, pp 216-218). Only as the period of time between the resurrection and the anticipated parousia lengthened did the early Church reflect on the continuing role of the exalted Christ. Both Paul and the writer of Hebrews portray Him as the interceding high priest (Romans 8:34; Hebrews 3:1ff) but Paul also stresses his immanence as the Spirit in the Church (1 Corinthians 12:12, 13; 15:45).

84. Dunn, pp 201-230.

85. McGiffert, Arthur Cushman, **The God of the Early Christians**, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1924, p 27.

86. Quoted in Ibid, p 54.

87. Ibid, p 60.

88. Ibid, pp 60,61.

89. Ibid, p 61.

90. The most important figure in the formulation of the Trinity was Tertullian at the beginning of the third century. Like John, Tertullian spoke of Christ as being the Logos - although he may not have meant quite the same thing as John. Tertullian taught that the Logos was begotten by God and proceeded from Him. "When a ray is projected from the sun it is a portion of the whole sun; but the sun will be in the ray because it is a ray of the sun; the substance is not separated but extended... This ray of God... glided down into a virgin, in her womb was

fashioned as flesh, is born as man mixed with God [ie Christ was both God and man; Spirit and flesh; not fusion but conjunction]" (Apology XXI). So the Father was the whole substance of God, but the Son only a part of God's substance. An independent 'Person' who was the projection of God into the world. Christ was of the same substance as the Father, yet a separate 'Person' from the Father and subordinate to the Father. The place of the Holy Spirit was hardly discussed at this time and was generally considered to be subordinate to both the Father and the Son.

During the third century, two other views of the Godhead were also being espoused as reactions against the inadequacies of early Trinitarianism. There were two main problems:
1. If the Logos was a separate divine 'Person' then the unity of God was threatened (two Gods).
2. If the Logos was subordinate to the Father then he was less of God than the Father was (Christ's deity was threatened).

91. In order to safeguard the unity of God some theologians denied the deity of Christ. This was called dynamic monarchianism, adoptionism or arianism (and was advocated by Theodotus, Paul of Samosata and Arius). For them, Christ was simply the greatest and first of all created beings who was penetrated by the Logos. The Logos was not a separate 'Person' but rather the impersonal power of God which operated in Jesus so that he was gradually made divine. Today, similar views are held by Unitarians, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christadelphians and even a few Baptists and theologians in the main stream denominations.

92. McGiffert, p 108.

93. Tertullian, **Against Praxeas**, 3.

94. Martin Luther wrote: "This name Trinity is never found in scripture, but men have devised and invented it. Therefore it sounds somewhat cold; and it is much better to say God than Trinity. This word denotes, however, that God is threefold in person. Now that is a heavenly matter, which the world cannot understand. Therefore have I told you often aforetime beloved, that the articles of the faith one and all must not be grounded on reason and probability, but must be fixed and grounded on the sayings of Scripture; for God knows well how it is, and how to speak of Himself. The schools have invented manifold distinctions dreams and fictions wherewith they have set themselves to show forth the Trinity, and thereby are become fools" (**Kirchen-Postille**).

95. Jenson, Robert W, in Braaten, Carl E and Jenson, Robert W, (Eds), **Christian Dogmatics**, Vol 1, Philadelphia:

Fortress Press, 1984, p 119.

96. Haykin, Michael A G, 'And Did the Father Die? The Perennial Threat of Modalism' in **Evangel**, Vol 5, No 4, Winter 1987, p 13.

97. See also Lampe, Geoffrey, 'What Future the Trinity?' in **The Cambridge Review**, 17th November, 1978, p 41.

98. Runia, Klass, 'The Trinity' in Keeley, Robin et al (Eds), **The Lion Handbook of Christian Belief**, Tring, Hertfordshire: Lion Publishing, 1982, pp 163, 164. See also Priestland, Gerald, **Priestland's Progress: One Man's Search for Christianity Now**, London: BBC, 1981, p 131.

99. Durrant, Michael, **Theology and Intelligibility**, London and Boston: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1973.

100. Lampe, p 38. See also pp 39-41.

101. Baelz, Peter, Interviewed by Priestland, Gerald and quoted in Priestland, pp 128,129.

102. Schleiermacher, Friedrich, **The Christian Faith**, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1968, p 748.

CONCLUSIONS UNDER THE CROSS

Evangelism does not make Christ present. It only makes Christ known. God's presence was in West Africa before the first European missionary arrived, and the suffering Christ was with the slaves in the cotton and sugar plantations of the Americas before the white preacher told them that they were the cursed offspring of Ham.

Out of their oppression and the memories of Africa arose the particular understanding of Christianity from which the 20th century Pentecostal movement sprang. From the Caribbean came black missionary immigrants bringing - like all missionaries before them - their culturally specific brand of Christianity to a nation which they perceived as far from God.

Parts of the message they proclaimed were often as alien to them as they were to the white population but beneath this veneer was an experiential, oral and lived theology which enriches the vast diversity of the theologies to be found in the Church catholic; a diversity which is not peculiar to the modern Church but was evident in the earliest Church of the New Testament. In fact, such is the diversity in the New Testament, that the roots of most Christian theologies can be found there, and those of the black Pentecostals are no exception.

All theology, however, must stand under the judgement of the cross. In the words of Jon Sobrino, "God on the cross explains nothing; he criticizes every proffered explanation."1 Theology which seeks to interpret human experience and the world is relativised by the inexplicable event of the crucified God.

Not only does the cross stand in sharp disjunction to the drunkeness and sexual immorality of the Corinthian church, it also stands in contrast to their emphasis on the exalted Lord, the **charismata pneumatica**, antinomianism and sectarian squabbles (1 Corinthians 1:18,23). Paul asserted that the hallmark of pneumatic maturity was, not only power but a sharing in the weakness, sufferings and death of Christ (2 Corinthians 4:10,11; 12:1-10; 13:3,4; Philippians 3:10).

The cross is the end of all theology and the beginning of identification with He who identified himself with the poor and the oppressed of the earth. The first generation of black Pentecostals in Britain, like their forebears in New World slavery, have identified themselves with the suffering and rejected Christ. What remains to be seen, is whether or not the majority of the second generation will identify themselves with those whom Christ identified himself with in his rejection, suffering and death.

Notes and References

1. Sobrino, Jon, **Christology at the Crossroads: A Latin American Approach** (tr/Dury, J), London: SCM Press, 1978, p 222.

APPENDIX A

THE CHURCH OF GOD CONGREGATIONS: WHITE BISHOPS, BLACK SAINTS

> A J Tomlinson, in such spiritual submission, was lifted up to bring forth the greatest religious movement in the history of the world.
> - A J Tomlinson's son, Homer A Tomlinson

The two largest Church of God groups in Britain - The New Testament Church of God [known in the United States as the Church of God (Cleveland)] and the Church of God of Prophecy [known in Jamaica as the Bible Church of God until the early 1960s] - both had a common origin in the United States among the very poor and ill-educated white agrarian mountain people of North Carolina and Tennessee in the late 19th century.1 Richard G.Spurling, an ex-Baptist pastor who had been expelled from his church for teaching the 'Second Blessing' of sanctification, was convinced that the Protestant Reformation had not reached its full potential because the reformers had, "failed to reform from creeds... adopted the law of faith when they should have adopted the law of love" and "failed to reserve a right of way for the leadership of the Holy Ghost."2 Accordingly, in 1886, he and seven others resolved to form the 'Christian Union' which would be composed of Christians "that are desirous to be free from all [man] made creeds and traditions."3 Shortly after the formation of the Christian Union, Spurling died and his son, Richard G Spurling Jr., who had joined the original eight, took his father's place as

pastor.4 Spurling "continued to preach, to pray and to weep before God but with little fruit for his labour," so that within a few years the Christian Union had all but ceased to exist.5 However, in 1902 he was involved in organising another congregation: the 'Holiness Church' at Camp Creek.

This group of twenty people was the result of a revival which broke out in 1896, led by three evangelists who "proclaimed the message of salvation including sanctification subsequent to justification."6 Two of the three had been influenced by the 'Third Blessing' teaching of Benjamin H Irwin's Fire Baptised Movement and as a result of their preaching many claimed to have experienced the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and some spoke in tongues.7 Others, says the Church of God historian Charles W Conn, "danced in spiritual ecstacy or trance as they were deeply moved by a sense of salvation and well-being."8 People claimed miraculous healings and lives were transformed as the "disorderly became upright; men who had been violent became meek; drunkards quit their drinking, and gamblers their gambling."9

Although there were outbursts of glossolalia at this time, as there had been in many other American Holiness revivals, Charles Conn, Ray Hughes and James Stone's implication that this was the beginning of the Pentecostal Movement is inadmissible. As Conn himself declares:

> "It would be somewhat later that the church would

understand the doctrine, person, and nature of the Holy Spirit."[10]

The revivals in the hill country of Tennessee and Carolina were no different from those in many other rural areas where Holiness preachers urged the faithful to leave the "worldly" churches, seek the "second blessing" of sanctification and expect the miraculous manifestations of the Spirit which occasionally included glossolalia.

With the revival at Camp Creek came severe persecution and charges of "heresy, lunacy, and idiocy" which resulted in some thirty members being "excommunicated from the Baptist Church when they claimed the experience of sanctification and a life free from sin."[11] The persecution grew so fierce that their chapel was set on fire, blown up and then systematically pulled down and burnt by a mob of a 106 men which included "several ministers, stewards and deacons, one justice of the peace and one sheriff."[12] The homes of the Holiness people were burnt, vandalised and plundered, the women and children intimidated and the men whipped and shot at.[13] When Cherokee County prosecuted those who had destroyed the chapel, the persecuted revivalists "begged the court for clemency" and their persecutors were freed without punishment.[14]

As the revival progressed, taboos prohibiting the eating of meat and sweets, the taking of medicine, the wearing of ties for men and the styling of hair for women were

practised as evidence of true holiness and spirituality. Some, not content with the spiritual power resulting from the baptism of the Holy Spirit, sought for "holy dynamite", "holy lyddite" and "holy oxydite"! Stone states that:

> From the meagre facts that are ascertainable, there were evidently hundreds of people who were converted, sanctified, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and healed from diseases [during the revival].15

However, by the time the organisation of the Holiness Church at Camp Creek had taken place "fanaticism and rival factions" had split the original revivalists and "people had already been lost from their number by false teachers, fanatics, and consequential factors," so that the initial membership of the new sect was a mere twenty.16

A year later, in 1903, the leadership was taken over by Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson who had been converted - like Martin Luther - after being narrowly missed by a bolt of lightening. Before taking over as pastor of Camp Creek, Tomlinson, then a Quaker, had worked as a caulporter for the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society and had also run a school for illiterate children.17 Subsequently, he claims to have experienced the blessing of entire sanctification.18 It is worth noting that he had this experience while engaged in hard labour on a frugal diet with very little sleep: circumstances and conditions which are conducive to hallucinations, altered states of consciousness and out of the body experiences. He wrote:

> At last the final struggle came. It was a hand-to-hand fight, the demons of hell seemed to be

> mustering their forces, and their gastly forms and furious yells would no doubt have been too much for me had not the Lord of Heaven sent a host of angels to assist me...There we were at that altitude when all of a sudden there came from above, like a thunderbolt from the skies, a sensational power that ended the conflict, and there lay the 'old man' dead at my feet, and I was free from his grasp. Thank God![19]

Under Tomlinson's leadership the Camp Creek church grew and by 1905 had expanded into four congregations.[20]

An assembly of twenty-one representatives of these four congregations was held the following year and the preface to the minutes, written by Tomlinson, make it clear that their desire was not to set themselves up as a "legislative or executive body":[21]

> We hope and trust that no person or body of people will ever use these minutes, or any part of them, as articles of faith upon which to establish a sect or denomination. The subjects were discussed merely to obtain light and understanding. Our articles of faith are inspired and given to us by the Holy Apostles and written in the New Testament which is our only rule for faith and practise.[22]

They did however decide to practise "feet washing" as an ordinance commensurate to communion and "agree to stand with one accord in opposition to the use of tabacco in any form", not only for spiritual but also for economic and health reasons. Two years later, the decision was taken to excommunicate those who continued its use.[23] At their second assembly in 1907 they formally adopted the name 'Church of God'.[24]

In August 1908, a revival began in Cleveland and continued

for ten weeks. Many were converted and received the Spirit baptism. That year, membership of the Church of God grew from sixty to 230, and by the year 1910 had increased to 1,855.[25]

In their Annual General Assemblies, decisions were taken to license women as ministers (1909); baptize by immersion (1911), wash both feet and use grape juice for communion (1912); prohibit membership of labour unions (this ban was partly lifted in 1914); forbid the use of tabacco and the wearing of unnecessary jewelry(1913); abstain from growing and selling tabacco (1915); prohibit the drinking of "coca cola and other cold drinks", the use of chewing gum for preachers and the selling of medicines; and discourage the teaching that handling snakes is "the evidence or test of salvation" (1917). During the 1921 General Assembly, however, people were reported to have taken "hot coals from the stove without being burnt," a feat which was repeated during the 1923 Assembly. While handling snakes was disapproved of, hot coals were perfectly acceptable![26] The Church of God's taboos against jewelry and other 'luxuries' such as tabacco and soft drinks should be evaluated in the context of the extreme poverty in which many of these people lived. By making a virtue of abstinence from unnecessary consumption, their limited incomes could be better used to feed and clothe their deprived families. The forbidding of alcohol probably saved many a wife from physical assault and her children from malnutrition.

a. BLACK PEOPLE IN THE CHURCH OF GOD

"From 1909 onwards", writes Conn,

> the Church of God had Negro members and ministers in its fellowship...to about 1920, there was no public or official note of race or color - which makes it difficult even now to determine precise dates and names... Barr the earliest black minister, was licensed in 1909 and ordained on June 3, 1912. Almost immediately there were others; the first official register of ministers in the January 1913 'Minutes' included eleven black ministers without any note of race... In 1912 there were three black congregations in Florida... in 1913 a black congregation was established in a Tennessee community...[27]

On June 4th, 1912 Tomlinson wrote in his diary:

> Had a conference yesterday to consider the question of ordaining Edmund Barr (colored) and setting the colored people off to work among themselves on account of the race prejudice in the South.[28]

By 1915 the number of black congregations in Florida had grown to nine, and Edmund (or Edward) S Barr, a Bahamian, was appointed as their overseer. However, after two years the Negro congregations were once again brought under white supervision. At the 1919 General Assembly, Tomlinson's address included a passing reference to black members. "We have deviated from our former practice," he said, "by giving a place on the programme for our colored brethren. We recognise them and fellowship them as brothers and sisters, but this is the first time they have been given representation on the programme."[29] Conn rather euphemistically summarises the problems associated with racial heterogeneity:

> Despite the early interracial idealism of the Church, the inescapable mores of the South, with its severe

lines of demarcation, had a negative effect on black expansion.30

It would appear that the white Church of God's willingness to suffer persecution for the sake of doctrine did not extend to racial equality and integration. In 1921 the apartheid which already existed in Florida was extended to the whole movement and the following year, in an attempt to stem the tide of black people leaving to join the Church of God in Christ and other black-led organisations, the black congregations were reorganised under their own black overseer, Thomas Richardson, and for the next four years the only contact between the black and white factions of the movement consisted of the attendance of the black and white overseers at each others segregated annual assemblies. Tomlinson, while stating: "I do not like any separation between nationalities and races," sought to justify it by arguing that: "it is not always convenient, neither is it best, for different races to meet together regularly for worship."31

A resolution was adopted in 1926, stipulating that the General Overseer of the black congregations always be a white man and allowing the blacks to send delegates to the annual white assembly, but few did. The following year, when the white General Executive Council refused to meet their request for a black overseer "90% of the black churches closed ranks against white church administration."32

During the late 1950s farm workers from Jamaica who were members of the Church of God, went to work in Florida. Attending church services, they found themselves in segregated pews, and black ministers were denied the opportunity of preaching to predominantly white congregations. Not surprisingly, when they returned to Jamaica, many dissociated themselves from the Church of God and joined black-led organisations. 33

In 1966 the Church of God abolished its separate "colored assembly", deleted all reference to colour from its minutes and records and integrated the black congregations. In the same year, a black minister, H.G.Poitier, was given an office at General Headquarters and put in charge of black affairs. However, Poitier, the black man, was placed under the supervision of a white overseer who represented the black congregations in the Church of God's Executive Committee.34

In 1974, representatives of the Church of God's Evangelism and Home Missions Department met with twenty-six of the thirty-six black students (including some from England and the West Indies) at Lee College to discuss "the church and its responsibilities to the black community". the white Church of God minister who reported this meeting records:

> The basic truth that emerged... was that a divided church cannot influence a divided world. If the Church of God is to have an effective evangelism

> programme in the black community, it must be able to demonstrate to the world that in Christ, people of different racial backgrounds can be one. This cannot be accomplished through words or resolutions but it can take place in actuality.[35]

In order to reach this ultimate goal, the black students at Lee College recommended four intermediate goals:

> 1. The need for black faculty members on the staff of our church-related colleges.
> 2. The need for black ministers in administrative positions on the general, state, district, and local levels.
> 3. The need for an all-out effort to inform and educate the black membership of the Church of God in all aspects of the church's ministries.
> 4. The need for an aggressive drive to enrol as many black young people as possible in our church-related colleges.[36]

The report concludes that the Church of God "cannot and **must not** be content until racial prejudice is removed from all areas of the church..."[37]

b. GLOSSOLALIA IN THE CHURCH OF GOD

Dugger, writing in 1964, claims that:

> for years the latter rain had been falling and many honest hearted seekers were baptized with the Holy Ghost. The initial evidence of the baptism with the Holy Ghost was the same as it was on the Day of Pentecost... All who received the Holy Ghost spake with other tongues as the Spirit gave the utterance.[38]

Similarly, Conn claims that: "the Church had emphasised the Holy Ghost baptism ever since 1896."[39] However, neither Tomlinson's diary nor any other contemporary writings of the Church of God associate speaking in tongues with Spirit baptism prior to June 1907 when Tomlinson attended a meeting in Birmingham, Alabama at which M M Pinson brought the Pentecostal message from Seymour's Azusa Street Mission

in Los Angeles.[40] Tomlinson did not speak in tongues until January 1908, when he receieved the experience under the ministry of G B Cashwell who had himself received the Spirit baptism at the Azusa Street Mission.[41] Tomlinson records that:

> A peculiar sensation took hold of me and almost unconsciously I slipped off my chair in a heap on the rostrum at Brother Cashwell's feet. I was soon lost to my surroundings as I lay there on the floor, occupied only with God and eternal things. My body was rolled and tossed about beyond my control... I seemed to see a great sheet let down, and as it came to me I felt myself literally lifted up and off the floor several inches, and carried in that sheet several feet... Great joy flooded my soul; the happiest moments I had ever known up to that time... Oh, such floods and billows of glory ran through my whole being for several minutes... In a vision I was carried to Central America (and in like manner to Brazil, Chilli, Patagonia, Africa, Jerusalem, Russia, France, Japan, and back to the United States) and was shown the awful conditions of the people... A paroxysm of suffering came over me as I seemed - to be in soul - travail for their salvation. Then I spoke in tongues as the Spirit gave the utterance... I must not fail to tell of the terrible conflict I had with the devil... while talking in an unknown tongue, the Spirit seemed to envelope me, and I was taken through a course of casting out devils; a real experience in the vision...[42]

It was not until 1911 that the Church of God officially adopted a doctrinal statement on glossolalia:

> Baptism with the Holy Ghost subsequent to cleansing: The enduement of power for service... The speaking in tongues as the evidence of the baptism with the Holy Ghost... The full restoration of the gifts to the Church... Signs following believers...[43]

Although Homer A Tomlinson, "World Bishop" of the Church of God World Headquarters, has claimed that his father Ambrose J Tomlinson was the founder of the original Pentecostal group from which all others developed, it is clear that although there had been outbursts of glossolalia before the

turn of the century, the Church of God did not become 'Pentecostal' in their understanding of glossolalia until after the Azusa Street Revival of 1906, and they, like virtually all Pentecostal groups, trace their lineage back to the Azusa Mission of W J Seymour.[44]

c. DIVISION IN THE CHURCH OF GOD

Tomlinson became increasingly convinced that the Church of God, of which he was overseer, was the one and only true Church "this side of the Dark Ages," and that before the Second Advent all genuine Christians would come into its fold.[45] During the 10th annual assembly held in 1914, he "was officially recognised... as the General Overseer of the Church of God for the duration of his life."[46] This appointment was instigated by an interpretation of tongues which declared:

> my beloved, you can't do better than what you have. Hold on to what you've got, [and,] he has been so faithful, as he was led by Me and had governed and led the little flock. So follow him as he follows Me.[47]

He did not maintain his exalted position for long. Interpretation of tongues not withstanding, several issues were the cause of much debate which eventually - in 1923 - led to his deposition and expulsion from the Church of God. He took over a quarter of the membership with him and set up the "Tomlinson Church of God". Subsequent court battles lasted from 1924 to 1952 when the words "of Prophecy" were added to the name Church of God, thus distinguishing the Tomlinson faction.[48] The split had been caused by

Tomlinson's autocratic rule, the accusation that he had misappropriated funds and a debate concerning whether or not divorce and remarriage was permitted "because of fornication" (Matt.5:31,32).[49]

According to Tomlinson's 'Church of God of Prophecy' faction, the division was caused by the Board of Elders becoming "the seed bed for division and confusion" by drifting "away from the standard of pure theocracy" whereby all disputes should be settled by reference to the teaching of the Bible and not by any human legislation in the form of creeds and constitutions, and "by individuals determining to strengthen their influence and power."[50] The three who were most prominent in opposing Tomlinson were accused of "wire pulling", "chicanery", intimidation, slander, brawling and "disloyalty" which rendered them "unfit to be bishops" and "unqualified to take active part in the governing of the Church of God."[51]

Conn puts the other side of the story and points out that the Assembly had agreed to Tomlinson's proposal that all tithes be paid to him and then be distributed by him to each pastor. As a result "a few ministers received their full pay each month, and others received nothing."[52] The organisation got itself into a great deal of debt and Tomlinson was accused of mismanagement and suspected of embezzlement. By this time he was indulging in self-adulation verging on megalomania. He was

simultaneously "General Overseer, editor and publisher, Publishing House business manager, superintendent of the Bible Training School, and superintendent of the Orphanage and Children's Home."[53] He became increasingly autocratic, condemned the constitution and demanded the absolute authority to choose who should serve on the sect's council. Tomlinson's version of theocracy was apparently Tomlinson's dictatorship. In 1923, he was called to account for the misappropriation of 31,000 dollars, deposed from his position as General Overseer and left to form a rival "Tomlinson Church of God"[54]

Tomlinson had designated his elder son, Homer, to succeed him but when he died in 1943, a power struggle ensued. His younger son, Milton, a printer rather than a minister, was elected as General Overseer in his father's place and the older son, Homer, having been expelled, went to New York City where he started the Church of God World Headquarters, founded the Theocratic Party, ran for President and proclaimed himself "King of the World" and "Son of God".[55]

The Church of God and the Tomlinson Church of God - later renamed the Church of God of Prophecy - grew steadily, both in the United States and on the mission field. World wide, the Church of God of Prophecy increased from five or six thousand members in 1923 to over twenty one thousand in 1933 and over sixty five thousand by 1943.[56] The Church of God grew from over twenty-three thousand in 1923 to over

forty eight and a half thousand in 1933 and over eighty-three and a half thousand by 1943.[57] By 1982 the Church of God (Cleveland) numbered 828,643, of which 361,099 were in the United States and Canada. In the same year the Church of God of Prophecy numbered 207,770 world wide with 74,084 in the United States.[58]

d. THE CHURCH OF GOD OF PROPHECY

The Church of God of Prophecy, unlike the Church of God (Cleveland), disclaim the title 'Pentecostal' because, according to them, it refers to those sects which believe that the New Testament Church began on the Day of Pentecost and or administer water baptism in the name of Jesus. They make much of the calling of the twelve apostles, from which they date the beginning of the Church of God.[59] However, according to their historian James Stone, by the close of the first century, the Church had entered "a literal 'dark age'" and

> by the second century the Church fathers felt compelled to suppress the ministry of the Spirit... The descent into apostacy was fast gaining momentum... Christianity continued to exist but the Church... had completely driven the Spirit from His habitation by the carnal and worldly living of its members... As it took centuries to accomplish the Church's total apostacy, it would take centuries after the first glimmer of the reformation before the Church would arise to its full glory... After years of religious unrest... the light of the reformation of justification by faith pierced the dark spiritual sky... the truth of a 'second crisis experience of sanctification' was the next logical step in the return to New Testament doctrine... at the turn of the Twelth Century... men like Charles Parham, W.J.Seymour, and others were led to the truth of the baptism of the Holy Ghost with evidence of speaking in tongues... the last major event in the Church's

> return from apostacy began in a remote mountainous area of Cherokee County, North Carolina... The people of God in Cherokee County... had gathered at the foot of Burger Mountain... A.J.Tomlinson had been led to the top of the mountain... Jehovah was getting ready to address the people through the man of God.[60]

At this point Stone becomes somewhat fanciful in his interpretation of the events. All Tomlinson apparently said was: "Well, if you take the whole Bible rightly divided, that makes it the Church of God."[61] However, this "revelation" coupled with the "willingness" of Tomlinson and others "to keep God's covenant" by obeying the Bible "makes the difference". This, according to Stone, was the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah chapter 60 and verse 1, and constituted the Church's "final step out of apostacy"[62]

In common with other three-stage Pentecostal sects of North American origin, they practise "the Lord's supper, water baptism, and feet washing".[63] Unlike the New Testament Church of God they discouraged the wearing of head coverings for women, believing that a woman's "hair is given her for a covering" (1 Cor.11:15). However, although this practice is popular among the young black British women, it has met with little success among the older Jamaicans in Britain, most of whom continue to wear hats while attending services. In 1913 - before the major split with Tomlinson - the Church of God had decreed that "unnecessary jewelry, such as finger rings, bracelets, earbobs, lockets, and other kinds of mere adornment should

not be worn."[64]. For the Church of God of Prophecy the prohibition against the wearing of gold and jewelery still extends to wedding rings although in Britain they apparently see no inconsistency in the fact that many wear elaborate gold plated watches and have gold teeth. In fact, even a white American overseer in Britain wore a gold or gold plated watch and glasses!

For the New Testament Church of God,however, such taboos have been considerably relaxed and the wedding ring prohibition lifted completely.

In 1923, Tomlinson's Church of God of Prophecy legislated against what they call "the divorce and remarriage evil" [65] stating that:

> Divorce and remarriage constitute the sin of adultery... The only allowable causes for remarriage are fornication and death. However, fornication is not unfaithfulness or simple adultery, but a state of being married to anothers wife or husband.[66]

Thus for the Church of God of Prophecy "fornication" is virtually defined as bigamy. Divorce and remarriage is considered bigamous whenever a divorcee still has "a living partner", and remarriage is only permitted to the person who has married a divorcee whose former spouse is still alive.[67] On the other hand, the Church of God faction have always been somewhat ambivalent about divorce but accept that the 'innocent party' is free to remarry in cases of adultery.[68]

The maintenance of the wedding ring taboo and the

opposition to divorce and remarriage for any reason other than death or 'fornication' appear to have an almost ritual significance in Britain and are used by some Church of God of Propecy members to denegrade members of the larger New Testament Church of God. Furthermore, they form two pillars of their three-fold raison d'etre for continuing as a separate organistion from the New Testament Church of God. The third pillar is their exclusive claim to be the only true and original Church into which all genuine Christians will be drawn before the Parousia.[69] This claim, more than anything else, isolates them, not only from the predominantly white two-stage Pentecostal groups, but also from their fellow black three-stage co-religionists.

A resolution to 'liberalise' the CoGoP's 'Advice to Members', from the rigid list of prohibitions which are seen as evidence of sanctification, was considered during the 83rd General Assembly held in 1988. It argued that, "it is almost impossible to list everything which should be approved and/or disapproved for all people, in all cultures, under all conditions, for all time" and that "the NT priciples of holiness are in every way superior to, and more binding than any list the General Assembly could possibly devise."[70] The General Assembly, however, did not see fit to adopt this resolution and left their list of prohibitions and taboos unchanged.

e. THE CHURCH OF GOD IN JAMAICA

The beginning of the Church of God in Jamaica dates from 1910 when a semi-literate ex-member of the synchretistic, Afro-christian Revival Zion cult, by the name of Muddle, contacted the Church of God in the United States. Muddle and another Jamaican, Hudson, were probably people the whites in the Church of God would rather forget and Conn in his history fails to mention either of them. However, a Jamaican Church of God minister, Ira V Brooks does, and records that Hudson "eventually supervised the growing work". However, as he goes on to say, "Hudson's ministry was a brief one because he fell short of the standards expected of a minister." 71 Hudson's place was taken by another Jamaican, J.Wilson Bell of Kingston, who in 1917 contacted the Church of God to seek affiliation. However, before this could be effected, Bell was imprisoned for failing to obtain medical help for one of his three small children which subsequently died as a result of food poisoning. About the same time, four congregations with some eighty members joined along with their founder and pastor A.J. Joseph. The following year, a white American Church of God missionary arrived in Jamaica and organised a seven member congregation in Kingston, probably from among Bell's adherents. By 1920, Jamaica had seven congregations with 232 members: five in and around Kingston and one in Spanish Town. Another was started in Clarendon Parish in 1922.72.

With the expulsion of Tomlinson in 1923 and the resulting split, missionary work was interupted until in 1925 the Church of God sent another missionary to organise three congregations with some 117 members in Clarendon Parish. He was less successful in Kingston and, according to Conn:

> ...he encountered considerable opposition in the sprawling sea coast city. Rum houses and 'dives' were in practically every block, and so many preachers conducted services on the streets that listeners could hardly understand one for the noise of the other... They told him flatly that neither he nor the Pentecostal faith was wanted in Jamaica.[73]

Before the year was out, he was replaced by a black American missionary, T.A.Sears, who was reportedly an outstanding evangelist until "after about two years on the Island, he betrayed his trust and fell in sin." Another white missionery took his place and by 1935 there were fifty-three congregations with 1,595 members, primarily in the parishes of Clarendon and St.Ann, but there were also groups in St Andrew, St Mary, St Catherine, Manchester, Trelawny and St Elizabeth.[74]

In 1935 a native Jamaican, E.E.Simmons, was appointed as overseer of the New Testament Church of God in Jamaica, but after five years "the work was stunned a second time [if we include Hudson it was the third time] by the fall of its leader."[75] Once again a white American was appointed as overseer.[76]

By 1954 the New Testament Church of God in Jamaica had grown to 180 congregations with 8,338 members and a Bible

School with the pretentious name of 'Jamaica School of Theology'.[77] By 1959 their strength had increased to "189 churches and seventy-five missions, with 11,218 members and 30,000 adherents."[78] However, they were also loosing members to other black-led organisations because of the segregation and racism experienced by Jamaican agricultural workers who had visited white Church of God congregations in Florida.[79] Nevertheless in 1977 Conn could write that "Jamaica is today one of the most prosperous mission fields in the Church [of God]."[80] This statement remains true today. In 1980 the New Testament Church of God boasted 276 churches and twelve missions with over 30,000 members.[81]

f. THE CHURCH OF GOD OF PROPHECY IN JAMAICA

It was not until eleven years after Tomlinson's expulsion that the Church of God of Prophecy faction re-established itself on the Island. At the 1931 annual assembly, Tomlinson appointed white American, James L.Kinder as missionary to Jamaica and in October of the same year he and his wife arrived on the Island but apparently received no financial support from their headquarters in the United States.[82] A.T.Wagner writes that:

> The work of Brother and Sister Kinder was one of faith as there were no missionary funds available. They suffered from physical needs, not having enough at times to meet daily necessities.[83]

Not surprisingly, by 1935 Kinder's health was so bad that he had to leave.

The growth of the infant Church of God of Prophecy (called 'The Bible Church of God') in Jamaica is difficult to ascertain. As one of their Jamaican writers points out, "a search through our archives revealed that there was very little record kept in the early years..." Furthermore, what little information is available is sometimes contradictory. In the same publication, one author states that during the first year of their "missionary work in Jamaica [1931-32], God blessed Brother and Sister Kinder with four churches with membership over one hundred and sixty."[84] While another declares that "according to our records, it was in 1934 that the first local church was organised..."[85]

In 1935 a black Jamaican was appointed to replace his sick predecessor as National Overseer, and since then all holders of this post have been black indigenous ministers.[86] Under this black leadership - which was however strictly monitored by the white headquaters in the United States - the Church of God of Propechy grew to about 100 congregations with over 5,000 members by 1955.[87] By 1963 this had increased to 167 congregations with 8,000 members and in 1987 they claimed 296 congregations with 17,228 members and 504 ministers.[88] These figures, however, fail to reflect the following which both the New Testament Church of God and the Church of God of Prophecy have among non-members who may be as numerous (or even more numerous) than members. This is particularly true of the Church of God of Prophecy who impose more restrictions on

membership than other Church of God organisations. Some indication of this is given by the number of people attending annual conventions. For example, in 1955, when the Church of God of Prophecy boasted over 5,000 members, in excess of 12,000 people attended their annual convention and by 1984 this had grown to more than 23,500 though they only claimed 14,000 members in 271 churches.[89]

Census information reveals that the number of people claiming affiliation to the Church of God in Jamaica has risen from nearly 44,000 in 1943 to over 191,000 in 1960 and almost 340,000 by 1970, making it the second largest religious group on the Island. However, this growth is due not only to the increase in New Testament Church of God and Church of God of Prophecy membership, but also to the proliferation of new sects with names incorporating the words, 'Church of God' [90]

Although leadership on the Island is black, the Church of God of Prophecy is a foreign mission which is firmly under the control of white staff at the denomination's headquarters in Tennessee. And from this American headquarters come the majority of white "dignitaries" who speak at their national conventions.[91]

g. THE NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH OF GOD IN WOLVERHAMPTON

Brooks writes that in 1936 "there were some efforts made to establish the Church [of God] in the UK."[92] That year,

J.H.Ingram visited Wales from the United States and even sent a letter of greeting to King George VI on the occasion of his coronation.[93] Ingram's efforts were of no avail, but at the end of 1951 a Jamaican minister, Oliver Augustus Lyseight, arrived in Wolverhampton. Lyseight initially worshipped with the Methodists and later with an Elim Pentecostal congregation six miles from Wolverhampton at Blackheath.[94]

In September 1953 Lyseight, Elisha Davis, Herman D Brown, G S Peddie and three others rented a hall at the Wolverhampton YMCA and about seventeen attended the first evening service. From among those seven black Pentecostal pioneers were Brown, who was later to become a bishop in the modalistic First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic), Peddie became a New Testament Church of God pastor and Lyseight became National Overseer for the New Testament Church of God.[95] "In those days," said Ben Cunningham, "they had to clean up all sorts of mess, dog filth, cigarette ends and beer bottles, before they could begin their service."[96]

By August 1954, several white people were also attending services at the YMCA hall. The following year Lyseight contacted the Church of God in Cleveland, Tennessee, as a result of which in June the following year Paul H.Walker, the executive missions secretary of the Church of God, visited Wolverhampton in order to organise the

congregation.[97] In a magazine article he wrote:

> I had received a letter from Brother Paul Larty of Wolverhampton, England, that a great rally had been planned and announced for the purpose of organizing a church and indoctrinating the people of Wolverhampton in the Church of God... on Wednesday June 22nd... Arriving late Saturday night, June 18th, in Birmingham, I was taken to Wolverhampton to the Lyseight home. The next day I was with the new work for services in the morning and evening. I found a nice group of colored people with several whites, as the color barrier is not so pronounced in England... I spent some time in the homes and in special day and night sessions as late as two and three in the morning expounding the teachings and government of the Church [of God] to them... Tuesday afternoon, June 21st... A new church was set in order with fifteen members. At the night service the altar was well-filled; several were saved and the membership of the new church was increased to forty.
>
> As yet, we do not have a licensed minister here in England, but by the time this reaches you I am sure we shall have at least three or four. THE CHURCH OF GOD IS NOW ANCHORED IN ENGLAND..."[98]

However, he clearly did not believe that the Church of God would thrive in Britain without "a staunch Church of God couple" from the "good old USA".[99] From 1954 until 1974 - 20 years - all such missionaries and official visitors were white![100] At the time of writing, the Church of God in Britain have a black (Jamaican born) National Overseer - Selwin E C Arnold - but he was appointed by the headquarters in the United States and is under a white American Superintendent for Europe and the Middle East - Lambert DeLong.[101]

By 1955, membership of the Wolverhampton congregation, under the pastorate of Herman Brown, had increased to sixty-five. In July 1956 the Missions Board in the United

States appointed Lyseight as overseer of the work in England and in July 1957, when the Second Annual Convention of the Church of God in England was held in Handsworth, Birmingham, they boasted five organised congregations (in Wolverhampton; Handsworth, Birmingham; Sheffield; Stockwell and Kilburn in London) and four unorganised ones (in Manchester; Nottingham; Walsall; and Balsall Heath in Birmingham) with a total of some 150 members.[102] The largest congregation was still in Wolverhampton but now with only forty-six members. Presumably some had left either to help establish the Church of God of Prophecy or new congregations for the New Testament Church of God. Before the year ended the New Testament Church of God had eleven organised congregations, and by 1960 this had increased to 909 members (446 male and 463 female) in twenty-nine congregations, served by twenty-one ministers.[103] However, by this time Brown had left the New Testament Church of God to establish a Oneness congregation.

In June 1961, work began on the construction of a church building in Nursery Street, Wolverhampton. By the end of January 1962 it was complete and the building was declared open by N Goodchild, the Chief Constable of Wolverhampton, who, at the ceremony said, "May I open this door on behalf of all the Christians of every creed and of every colour in Wolverhampton." However, the **Express and Star** reporter who recorded the event described it as, "the church, which is

for the town's West Indians."[104]

In 1963, a small national training college, Ebenezer Bible Institute, was opened in Birmingham but six years later it was reduced to an evening institute serving the Birmingham area only. In 1977 an extension was also opened in Hackney, London.[105] The NTCoG's most impressive educational project was initiated in February 1982 with the opening of Overstone College in Northampton. Under the principalship of a black academic, Ridley N Usherwood, it set out to train ministers and lay workers for the church in Britain.[106] In 1987, Usherwood withdrew and a white, American trained Briton, Brian Robbinson became principal. Robbinson, a member of the NTCoG since the 60s, is currently steering the college towards a propositional evangelical theology which threatens to stifle any attempts to develop or make explicit the black Pentecostal theology which grows out of experience and is expressed in the lives and oral liturgy of the black worshipping community.[107] One wonders why the NTCoG and the CoGoP which in Britain are overwhelminghly black-majority organisations, should both appoint white Englishmen as principals of their Bible schools. Is this a misguided attempt to gain respectability? Has the pattern and status of British education which is found in Jamaica been duplicated in this country?

On the 30th September, 1979, the NTCoG in Britain

celebrated its 25th Anniversary with an all-day service of thanksgiving at Wolverhampton's Civic Hall, attended by delegates from the United States, Africa and Europe. Ben Cunningham who talked to a **Wolverhampton Chronicle** reporter said, "We thought we would come back to Wolverhampton because that is where it all began."[108] By 1980 the Church of God in Britain had 105 congregations with 5,821 members and 190 ministers and by 1987, 109 congregations with 6,600 members and 195 ministers under the leadership of a black overseer, Selwin E Arnold.[109] In the Wolverhampton district they claimed four congregations and two missions with a membership of 231.[110] This figure is somewhat misleading, however, because the Church of God districts do not conform to the geographical areas defined by their names.[111] In the Borough of Wolverhampton there are in fact only three congregations: two with their own buildings located at Wednesfield Road, Wolverhampton and Wellington Road, Bilston; and one meeting at the Methodist Church Hall in Low Hill, Wolverhampton. The average Sunday evening attendance is around 148 adults (i.e. those apparently over 15 years of age) and sixty-seven children (i.e. those apparently under 16 years of age); fifty-five men (37%) and ninety-three women (63%).

h. THE CHURCH OF GOD OF PROPHECY IN WOLVERHAMPTON

The American Church of God of Prophecy missionary, Homer E Rye, was sent to England where, in 1953, he established a congregation with twelve members in Bedford. On his return

to the United States, the pastor of the Bedford congregation, Herbert England, was appointed as overseer for England.[112]

The arrival of migrants from the West Indies in the years following resulted in the rapid expansion of the Church of God of Prophecy so that by 1963 there were twenty-seven congregations and a membership of around 600. By 1970 this had increased to fifty-two congregations, and by 1982 the Church of God of Prophecy in Britain boasted 108 congregations with 5,096 members and a 'Bible Training Institute' in Birmingham. That year, over 6,000 people attended the National Convention.[113]

As the sect became predominantly black, the majority of whites left, and the National Overseer, Herbert England, resigned. One of the Church of God of Prophecy's black pastors recounted what happened:

> When I came here the overseer that we had was a white man: English. It was overseer England - he lives in Bedford. And he was our national overseer, and at the time we had a group of white brethren there because the minister was a white man, and he was in Bedford - his church in Bedford was a group of white people. And there was one brother John, I can remember and he had a group as well - white people. Even at Red Cross Street [in Wolverhampton] we had a few white folks that worshipped there. But then after... then black ministers sort of spread out - most of them preaching in other areas - and eventually they just go. Because these white people, they just go... Even brother England - the actual overseer - he resigned![114]

In 1955 the Church of God of Prophecy established their

first congregation in Wolverhampton, two more were formed in the early 60s, one in 1970 and another in Bilston in 1974.[115] Three of the four congregations in the borough of Wolverhampton own their own church buildings: one a converted warehouse in Merridale Street, Graisley, the other a purpose built church in Gloucester Street, Whitmore Reans, and the third in Bridge Street, Bilston. The first and second were opened in 1987 and Bilston in 1988. Prior to this, two congregations met in rented secular halls and one in a Methodist church hall. The Low Hill congregation worships in the United Reformed Church hall in Old Fallings Lane. Until 1986 a small congregation (Sunday attendance around thirteen) met in the Baptist church on Winchester Road, Fordhouses, but this has now been amalgamated with the Mansfield Road congregation in Lozells, Brmingham.[116]

When I visited these four congregations, Sunday attendance averaged 194 adults (i.e. those apparently aged 16 and over), comprising fifty-two men (28%) and 140 women (72%). There were also seventy-eight children (i.e. those apparently under 16 years of age), comprisng twenty-three boys and thirty-eight girls. The largest congregation had sixty-one adult members and the smallest, twenty.[117]

Total adult Sunday attendance is around 329 for the NTCoG and the CoGoP in the borough of Wolverhampton: 221 female (67%) and 108 male (33%). For all black Pentecostal congregations in Wolverhampton, Sunday attendance averages about 55% of total claimed membership; and adherants, who

attend at least sporadically, are about double Sunday attendance figures. Thus total claimed membership is approximately 477 and the number likely to attend special services is around 658.

Both of these organisations are charisterised by ecclesiastical structures and polities which reflect their white North American origins and ongoing ties. Charismatic leadership - in the Weberian sense - is far more common in black Pentecostal organisations which are independent from white control or influence.

On Sunday 11th September, 1988, M A Tomlinson appointed the first black National Overseer for the CoGoP in Britain. Prior to this, all such overseers had been white North Americans. Finally, after thirty-five years of white missionary control, a British educated Barbadan, Oswill E Williams, became the bishop of the black-majority CoGoP in Britain. The appointment of Williams was at the instigation of one of the CoGoP's few black American bishops, Adrian Varlack, and was probably an attempt to bridge the generation gap with a leader who could make the organisation relevant to the second generation while not alienating the first. One of Williams' first acts as National Overseer was to re-install many of the older bishops in the committees and positions of authority they had been removed from by his white American predecessor, Elmer E Van Deventer. The power bases of the first

generation conservatives which Van Deventer had sought to weaken, were restored and the young radicals whom he had taken seriously saw their organisation delivered - for the moment at least - back into the hands of reactionarys. Williams, however, is an astute leader whose credibility with the older pastors was instantly assured by this action. He appears to have every intention of listening to the second generation - including the young radicals - and steering the CoGoP in Britain towards a less exclusivist and sectarian position which will bring an end to the 'spiritual ghetto' mentality and involve the organisation in a wider sphere of mission and some degree of ecumenism.

Notes and References

1. Conn, Charles W, **Like a Mighty Army, A History of the Church of God**, Cleveland: Pathway Press, 1977, pp.3,4.
There are so many groups in America who use the name 'Church of God' that all attempts to list and classify them have been of limited success. Those dealt with in this chapter are the Church of God (Cleveland) known in Jamaica and Britain as the New Testament Church of God and the Church of God of Prophecy which split from the main body in 1923 and was known in Jamaica as the Bible Church of God until the 1960s.

2. Juillerat, Howard L, **Book of Minutes**, Cleveland: Tennessee, Church of God Publishing House, 1922,pp.7,8, also quoted in Conn **Army**, pp.6,7.
Synan, Vinson, **The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States**, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eerdmanns Publishing Co., 1971, p.82.

3. Juillerat, pp7,8.
Tomlinson, A J, **The Last Great Conflict**, Cleveland: Press of Walter E Rodgers, 1913, pp.185,186, quoted in Stone, James, **The Church of God of Prophecy, History and Polity**, Cleveland: White Wing Publishing House and Press, 1977, p.14.

4. Conn, **Army**, p.16.

5. Stone, p.15.
There is some doubt as to whether or not the Christian Union survived long enough for the Holiness Church (later renamed the Church of God) to be a continuation of it. Vinson Synan thinks not. See Synan, **Holiness Pentecostal**, pp 82,98.

6. Conn, **Army**, pp.16-20.
Stone, p.16.

7. Tomlinson, **Conflict**, p.189, cited in Stone, p.16.
Juillerat, p.11.
Conn, **Army**, pp.24,25.
Duggar, Lillie, **A.J Tomlinson**, Cleveland, Tennessee: White Wing Publishing House, 1964, p.32.
Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, p.81.

8. Conn, **Army**, p.20.

9. Ibid. pp.23,26,27.

10. Ibid. p.26. cf Hughes, Ray H, **Church of God Distinctives**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Pathway Press, 1983,p 33.

11.Tomlinson, **Conflict**, p.188, cited in Stone, p.15.
Conn, **Army**, p.30.

12.Conn, **Army**, p.33.
Juillerat, pp.11,12.
Stone, p17.

13.Conn, **Army**, pp.34-36.

14.Ibid, p.37.

15.Stone, p.17.

16.Ibid

17. Conn,**Army**, pp.49-52
Stone, pp.20,21.

18. Tomlinson, **Conflict**, p.201 cited in Stone pp.18,19.
Duggar, p 20.

19. Quoted in Davidson, C T, **Upon This Rock**, Cleveland, Tennessee: White Wing Publishing House and Press, 1973, Vol.1,pp 203,204.

20. Evans, Avery D, (Ed), **A J Tomlinson**, Cleveland, Tennessee:White Wing Publishing House, 1943, p.12, cited in Stone, p.24.
Conn, **Army**, pp 53,54.

21. Quoted in Conn, **Army**, p 64.

22. Juillerat, p 17, also quoted in Conn, **Army**, p 65.

23. Juillerat, pp 15-19.
Conn, **Army**, p 67.
Dugger, p 39.
Johnson, Burford M, **Written in Heaven**, Cleveland: Whitewing Publishing House and Press, 1971, pp 8,9, 11.

24. Conn, **Army**, p 74.
Stone, p 26.
Johnson, p 10.

25. Stone, pp 27-29,33.
Conn, pp 85,99,100, 103.
In the decade between 1910 and 1920 the Church of God engaged in missionary activity in Egypt, Cuba, Chile, The Virgin Islands, Barbados, Argentina, China, Bermuda, Canada, Guatamala, The Bahama Islands and Jamaica.
Davidson, p 384.

26. Johnson, pp 12, 14, 15, 17, 21, 25, 29, 40.
Davidson, pp 412, 437, 438, 484-486.

27. Conn, **Army**, pp 132,133.

28. Tomlinson, A J, **Journal of Happenings**, Manuscript Diary of A J Tomlinson in the Archives of the Church of God, Cleveland, Tennessee, 1901-1923, quoted in Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, p 173.
This entry is omitted from the published **Diary of A J Tomlinson**, Vol 1, 1901-1923, New York: The Church of God, World Headquarters, 1949.

29. Tomlinson quoted in Johnson, p 26.

30. Conn, p 133.
See also Brooks, Ira V, **Where Do We Go From Here?**, London: np printed by Charles Raper, 1982, pp 1,2.
Edmund Barr and his wife Rebecca later went as missionaries to the Bahamas. Sparkes, Sandra, 'Called into One Body' in **Church of God Evangel**, Vol 64, No 2, 25th March 1974, p 4.

31. Tomlinson, A J, **Minutes of the Sixteenth Assembly**, 1926, pp 25,26, also quoted in Anderson, Robert Mapes, **A Social History of the Early Twentieth Century Pentecostal Movement**, PhD, Columbia University, 1969, p 322. Johnson, pp 31,32. See also Brooks, **Where?**, pp 5,6.
CoGoP historian, C T Davidson, records an edited quotation from Tomlinson at the Assembly of 1922: "I feel that the time has come that some mention should be made about colored people... Several appeals for us to set them off to themselves have been made. They wanted their own overseers and the privilege of holding their assemblies... If there should be some plan instituted that would meet the requirements so as to bring all the colored people to the Church of God instead of them going away so often, it would surely be Scriptural and right... Surely a basis of fellowship and union could be agreed upon that will meet all requirments and not only save to the Church of God all who are now members, but bring back all who have gone away." Tomlinson, A J, quoted in Davidson, Vol 1, p 583.

32. Anderson, pp 321,322.
Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, pp 173,174.
Brooks, **Where?**, p 6.

33. Blake, Alvin, Interview, Frankfurt 19th June, 1987.

34. **Minutes of the 51st General Assembly**, 1966, p 62.
Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, p 183
Brooks, **Where?**, pp 8,9.
Nichols, John D, 'Ministry Among Blacks' in **Church of God Evangel**, Vol 64, No 2, 25th March, 1974, p 8.
In 1966 black ministers who were under the age of 45 were included in a common Aged Ministers Retirement Fund rather than the separate Black Aged Minister's Programme. 'Supplement to the Minutes' in **Minutes of the 58th General Assembly of the Church of God**, Cleveland, Tennessee: CoG

Publishing House, 1980, pp 102, 103.

35. Nichols, Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Duggar, p 52.

39. Conn, **Army**, p 77.

40. Tomlinson, Homer A, (Ed), **Diary of A J Tomlinson**, New York: Church of God, World Headquarters, 1949-1955, Vol III, p 49.
See also **Book of Minutes**, pp 23,24.
Conn, **Army**, pp 75,76.

41. Tomlinson, **Diary**, Vol I, pp 17,18.Duggar, pp 52,53.
Conn, **Army**, pp 84,85.
Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, pp 133,134. The myth that the Church of God was Pentecostal from its inception is perpetuated in Britain. In fact, they date their beginnings from the establishment of the 'Christian Union' in 1886. In March 1986, at the NTCoG Youth and Christian Education Convention in Leicester, the black National Director of Youth thanked God for "100 years of Pentecostal witness." **1886 - 1986, 100 years New Testament Church of God Inc.: Worship Through Celebration**, (convention programme), NTCoG, 1986. Brown, E A, speaking on the 28th March 1986.

42. Tomlinson, **Conflict**, pp 211-214, quoted in Stone, p 27.

43. **Book of Minutes**, pp 45-47.
Conn, **Army**, pp 118,119.

44. Anderson, pp 64,65.

45. Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, pp 85,86.
The Church of God (Cleveland) have since abandoned their exclusivist and sectarian position, unlike the Church of God of Prophecy who continue to maintain that they are the one true Church.

46. Stone, pp 31-32.

47. **Book of Minutes**, pp 172,173, quoted in Stone, p 31.
Anderson, p 261.
The practise of "inquiring of the Lord" and receiving answers by means of the interpretation of glossolalia was a common practise among early Pentecostals and is occassionally used today by the leadership of the Church of God of Prophecy.

48. Stone, pp 51, 62-67.
Conn, **Army**, pp 186-188.
Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, p 195.
The Church of God had also suffered a split in 1917 with the forming of the 'Original Church of God', as a result of A J Tomlinson's autocratic control and his insistence on compulsory tithing.
Anderson, p 270.
Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, p 194.
Johnson, pp 91-103.

49. Conn, **Army**, p 158.
Stone, pp 51, 62-67.

50. Stone, pp 35-37.

51. **Minutes of the Called Council of Elders**, 12th June, 1923, quoted in Stone, p 41.
Book of Minutes, p 32.
Conn, **Army**, p 171.
When A J Tomlinson died in 1943, his younger son Milton became leader of the Church of God of Prophecy. The older son, Homer, founder of the 'Theocratic Party' and calling himself "King of the World", went off to found his own Church of God World Headquarters.

52. Conn, **Army**, p 161

53. Ibid p169.

54. Ibid pp 167-178.
Hollenweger,Walter J **The Pentecostals**,London: SCM Press, 1972, p 49.
Synan, **Holiness-Pentecostal**, p 195.

55. Synan,**Holiness-Pentecostal**, pp 195,196.
Faupel, David W, **The American Pentecostal Movement, A Biographical Essay**, Wilmore, Kentucky: B L Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1972, pp 18,19.

56. Stone, pp 51,52,54.

57. Conn, **Army**, pp 430,431.

58. **Assembly Minutes of the Church of God of Prophecy, 77th World-Wide Annual Assembly**, Cleveland, Tennessee, World Headquarters Church of God of Prophecy, 1982, pp 32,33,128,129. By 1987 the CoGoP had 244,755 members world-wide with 72,602 in the United States. Telephone conversation with staff at the CoGoP National Headquarters Administrative Offices, Birmingham, 12th July,1989.

59. Stone, pp 79,80.

60. Ibid pp 82-87.

61. A J Tomlinson quoted in Duggar, pp 34,35.

62. Stone, p87.
The Church of God of Prophecy's concept of 'the covenant' is dealt with in Stone, pp 271-282.
See also Mixton, Roy D, **The First Twenty Years of the Church of God of Prophecy in England**, London: 27 Drewstead Road, 1973, p 11.

63. Stone, p 90.

64. Juillerat, p 126.

65. Stone, p 232.

66. **Twenty-Nine Important Bible Truths**, Cleveland, Tennessee: The Church of God of Prophecy, nd, (originally 1927), pp 11,12.

67. See Stone, pp 255-257 for an exposition of the Church of God of Prophecy view that "fornication" (porneia) refers to bigamy, and see also Davidson, p 582, for A J Tomlinson's pronouncements on the subject. In 1922, Tomlinson stated: "Let it be fornication for a man to marry a woman who has a living husband instead of an act of adultry." **These Necessary Things** pp 23-25. cf Johnson, pp 11,12.

68. Cone, **Army**, pp 83,84
Hollenweger, p 49.

69. See Mixton, p 11.
The Church of God of Prophecy's rejection of the term 'Pentecostal' probably serves a similar function in maintaining the sect's identity as distinct from other three-stage Church of God type groups.
At the 1913 General Assembly the following question and answer was given: "QUESTION: Who are members of the Church? Explain that people are not members simply because they are converted, sanctified and filled with the Holy Ghost. ANSWER: To say that every Christian is a member of the Church of God is a delusion. They are not members until they accept God's covenant, and the government of Jesus and are received into fellowship by covenant." Davidson, p 415. At the 1916 Assembly it was stated that even "When a person is excluded unlawfully" from a congregation "he is out of the body in as much as the body means the Church" and this inspite of the fact that "he may be a Christian." Ibid, p 461.

70. Resolution document from the 83rd General Assembly of the CoGoP.

71. Brooks, **Where?**, pp 2,3.

72. Conn, Charles W, **Where The Saints Have Trod: A History of Church of God Mission**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Pathway Press, 1959, pp 61 and fn 62.
Conn, **Army**, pp 144,155.
Brooks, **Where?**, pp 2,3.
Conn points out that "Many of the early Pentecostal People sincerely believed that to use physicians and their remedies was to consort with evil. Accepting medical aid was considered 'leaning on the arm of flesh' and not on the arm of God."

73. Conn, **Saints**, pp 62,63.

74. Ibid, pp 63-65
Brooks,**Where?**, p 4.

75. Conn, **Saints**, p 66.

76. Ibid, pp 66-68.

77. The 'Jamaica School of Theology' was later renamed 'Bethel Bible College'. For a fuller consideration of the reasons for the sudden rapid growth of the Church of God in the 1950s see Chapter 2.

78. Conn, **Saints** pp 70,71.

79. Interview with Alvin Blake, Frankfurt 19th June 1987.

80. Conn, **Army**, p 191.

81. **Minutes of the 28th General Assembly of the Church of God**, Cleveland, Tennessee, Church of God Publishing House, 1980. p 98.

82. **Triumph**, January to March 1986, pp 4,9.

83. Wagner, A T in **Triumph**, p 4.

84. **Triumph**, p 4.

85. Graham, Les R, '50th Anniversary Message to the Church of God of Prophecy' in **Triumph**, p 3.

86. The second National Overseer was Rudolph C Smith (1935-74); the third, Alvin S Moss (1975-82); and the fourth and current overseer, Lesmon R Graham (1982-).

87. **Triumph**, pp 4,5.

88. Telephone conversation with staff at the CoGoP National Headquarters Administrative Offices, Birmingham, 12th July 1989. See also **Triumph**,pp 3,17.

89. Ibid, pp 15,22.

90. **Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica**, 1974, Kingston: Department of Statistics, 1975.
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91. **Triumph**, pp 9,12, 14-22.

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106. Usherwood, Ridley N, 'Overstone College: A Dream in the Making' in **Christian Action Journal**, Autumn, 1982, pp 37,38.

107. Robinson, Brian, conversation, 13th September, 1988.

108. **Wolverhampton Chronicle**, 6th October 1978.

109. **Minutes of the 58th General Assembly of the Church of God**, Cleveland, Tennessee: Church of God Publishing House, 1980, p 96; Brierley, Peter (ed), **UK Christian Handbook**, 1989/90 Edition, Kent: MARC Europe, 1988, p 152.

110. Brooks, **Where?**, p 57.

111. Ibid, pp 62,64.

112. Mixon, p 6.

113. Ibid, pp 6,7. By 1988 the CoGoP in Britain had 102 congregations with 4,988 members. Telephone conversation with staff at the CoGoP Administrative Offices, Birmingham, 12th July, 1989.

114. Interview B6.

115. Mixon, p 43.

116. In June, 1971, Cyril Braham's name appeared in the **Wolverhampton Chronicle** under the headline 'Pastor wants eighty thousand pounds to buy a church'. Braham was the pastor of the now amalgamated Winchester Road congregation and in 1971 was attempting to raise the money to purchase a redundant church building in Wednesfield and used house to house collections in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt. **Wolverhampton Chronicle**, 23rd June, 1971. Such collecting from the "unsaved" is looked upon with extreme distaste by most white Pentecostals and also by some black Pentecostals.

APPENDIX B

THE CHURCH OF GOD CONGREGATIONS: BLACK BISHOPS, BLACK SAINTS

The independent congregations which historically and doctrinally originated among the NTCoG and the CoGoP, often retain the designation 'Church of God' in their titles but are particularly characterised by their independence from white North American control or influence which generally results, on the one hand, in a less culturally and liturgically ambivalent approach to worship and, on the other, the paradoxical adoption of some of the bits of historical liturgy which are generally ignored by 'low church' Pentecostals who have white North American headquarters.

a. THE UNITED CHURCH OF GOD

As with many of the Church of God groups in Britain, the United Church of God is an organisation which has broken away from the NTCoG. Its founder, G A Johnson, came from Jamaica to Britain in 1953 and immediately associated himself with O A Lyseight and other early members and ministers of NTCoG. Johnson was ordained in 1960 and quickly rose to become overseer for the congregations in Birmingham. At this time most black Pentecostals were still meeting in private homes, rented halls and school rooms,

but in 1964 Johnson and his flock purchased a disused church building in Lozells Road, Birmingham.

Later that year, this newly acquired building was the venue for the NTCoG District Convention during which Lysight, the National Overseer, announced that Johnson was to be sent to a congregation in Gloucester which met in a rented hall. Gloucester's minister, Dr Fitzwarren Barnes - a chiropodist - was to take over the pastorate of the Lozells Road church and perhaps create 'the right image' for this prestigious, property owning congregation. Reluctantly Johnson agreed to go but soon changed his mind at the prospect of turning his back on a decade of labour and commitment. He withdrew from the NTCoG taking some of the members with him. The building, because it was legally owned by the NTCoG organisation, remained under their control and his congregation met in rented school premises in Rookery Road. Later that year (1964) they adopted the name 'United Church of God'(UCoG). From the original congregation only about fifteen remained loyal to Johnson but Sunday attendance now numbers around 82 (58 of whom are over 15 years of age; 40 women and 18 men). In 1975 they purchased their own building in Austin Road, Handsworth. Other congregations, largely composed of NTCoG or CoGoP dissidents, joined the organisation. Many came and went with the result that the present size of the organisation is smaller than it has been. Currently there are congregations in Birmingham, Dudley, Walsall, Manchester and, since 1975, in

The Wolverhampton congregation was started by its present pastor and he was ordained the same year by the United Church of God. Coming to Britain in 1960 from the Parish of St Ann, Jamaica, he had been brought up in an independent charismatic Baptist church with a Scotish pastor - The Tabernacle Church of God - but did not consider himself to be a Christian until he was converted and called to be a preacher through a series of dreams and visions in 1965. He recalls:

> I dreamt [on] the Saturday night... (I never go to Church - keep away) I went to another place and heard they sang a song: "Amazing grace, how sweet the sound..." When I left that place that song keep in my mind... the song keep it in my heart... I got to go home. Couldn't stand it.
>
> So this one night, just after I marry - the following Saturday night - I was sleeping and there was all this white, man. And when I look on this white everybody went up to see him. So I also went. When I went there as I look on the white the bottom of his both feet it was cracking without moving his toes... So it was moving just this little bit. Every time I look at it he move it so that I know that he is alive. And he know that I know that he's not dead. That's in a dream. So we develop a relationship 'cause he know me and I know him. So everybody say he's dead but I know personally he's not dead. Anyway I don't know his name [at this time] and I never see his face, only from the side that he was showing me. So when everybody intended to go away now, I didn't go because I know. So just as I turn about to go out of the room - it's a dream - I remember it still - he just grab hold of me and whirl me up, and then I wake up.
>
> That morning... when I was coming down the staircase I heard a voice say: "Praise the Lord!" I heard that big noise and then when I look it was me who said - it come through me!... Through I heard that big shout, my mind turned to church and I know there was a little church [a CoGoP]... so I went up and sat at

the back... the ceiling is pretty tall... As I sat at the back of the hall this Sunday... I saw the pastor - Pastor Davis - and he was about six feet something. And while I sat at the back - I wasn't by the people - I was way down the back sitting in the corner looking on whatever they were doing. When I sat down there sir, and look, I saw the man as he stood up by the gable. I noticed he was talking. I look at him and saw he was growing. So he grow about seven or eight feet. So I thought, how come this man is that tall? And then I look at him again and he was about twelve feet. So he grow that high. He gone right up into the ceiling... I was sitting on the chair, when I saw him grow that high, I was coming off the chair to get away. I start to run off 'cause I could see him plainly growing and then when he grow to that height what do you think I've seen? The Holy Ghost overshadow the man! But I never knew till many years after, the Holy Ghost overshadow the man. The man lay hold on me and spoke to me. He says, "I take you because you're brave." I was trying to come off the chair with that speed. So the speed I was coming off, the chair couldn't take it so we both fell. I fell and then I make one noise! And I say, "I pray to you..."

I got up and go to the minister and ask him if he could pray for me. He was frightened. Everybody was frightened because I make an uproar... I thought, in the evening, I'll just go there and tell them how much I was sorry for the noise - I was really a nuisance - but you see they was worshipping God in faith and I personally saw it so it was different you see. The one that see is different. Then as I go along then I realise what I've seen: the Holy Ghost. That's what got me converted.

So when I went back the evening, I felt different, man. Feel strangely warm inside. Just warm... I went back the evening just to say, I'm sorry. One of the evangelists say, "Would you like [us] to pray for you?" I just say, "Yes." And then I lost my strength... I lost my physical strength. They pray for me and they says, "You can come again." The following week, I was back. Then the third week they said, "We are having a baptism, do you want to [be] baptize[d]?" I said, "Yes." So I went all the way to Leamington Spa. So I never leave the church then... I remember that... I saw the Holy Ghost with my eyes. I'm sure it was no fairy tale. That's how my conversion started...

While I was a sinner, all the while I used to dream that... I was taken to my father[']s] church... I used to have this dream that I go back to Jamaica and go

> to this church and I was a P. Every so often I used to dream that dream that I was a P. So I thought it was a policeman. So I went to the police; try to get into the police force because I dreamt I was a P. But it was a **preacher** but I couldn't interpret it because I had no mind to preach anything. So I used to dream that I go to Jamaica, and I used to go to the back of the church - every time in this churchyard - and then this big letter: yuu are a P. I couldn't realise it. After I converted, I tried to get into the police force - then those times then they never used to take coloured immigrant, only maybe one or two in London... But that P I used to dream means that I [was] meant to be a preacher. 'Cause the Spirit used to take me into the churchyard. Then I understood.2

He worked for a time with the CoGoP in Willenhall, Oraisley and Fallings Park but left to join the UCoG and establish a congregation in Wolverhampton. His primary stated reason for leaving the CoGoP was this organisation's practice of regularly uprooting and relocating their ministers. In his own words:

> There was one thing in the Prophecies - I had a big family, so then having a big family when you're in the Prophecies - you've got to move from place to place. When they say go, you can't make an excuse, you've got to go!3

The United Church of God in Wolverhampton now meets, morning and evening, in St Chad's Church hall Pennfields. With an average Sunday attendance of seventeen, comprising three men, three women, three boys and eight girls (the pastor has ten children) it is one of the smaller congregations in Wolverhampton, although more will attend special services and several white teenagers come sporadically. While size is important to black pastors, this minister reflects the views of most when he stresses that the paramount virtues are commitment and

participation:

> Some of the people hasn't got the chance to be motivated [by involvement in a participative congregation] and because of that they become benchwalled [mere pew-fillers]. They come in and they sit there, but when they got to do something then they will have to live through their principles. One more thing why the coloured people does not go much to the white man church because its a one man thing his church. That's the main thing... In the coloured churches... we believe the Bible when it say, "entertain strangers." By doing so... God want to tell you something in your congregation and he'll send a teacher from outside... You visit the white man church then you just got to sit there...[4]

In common with many of the ministers of small congregations which are affiliated to Church of God organisations which have broken away from their white-dominated progenitors, this pastor is very ecumenical and very much more willing than the CoGoP to recognise other Christians and churches as "brothers in Christ". He has positive memories of a visit to the Assemblies of God church in Temple Street and of meeting many of the white 'mainstream' clergy of the town. He is also involved with the Wolverhampton Inter-faith group, because, he says,

> people is just people. You can't expect other peoples' faith to be yours and you can't expect your faith to be their faith. Each people, they see it from different angles because they are not all the same mind.[5]

b. THE CHURCH OF GOD FELLOWSHIP

On the 2nd January 1915, V R M Nelson was born at Inkerman, Grange Hill in the Jamaican parish of Westmorland. Nelson was brought up in a Christian home and taught by the wife of a local minister before going to school at thirteen years of age. His father, a cattle butcher and lumber

trader, encountered "many financial misfortunes" and was killed in a tree-felling accident when Nelson was only fifteen. Without financial support, his education ceased. At seventeen he was a subsistence agrarian and father of an illegitimate daughter who tragically died at twenty months.[6] He writes:

> My moral deterioration continued to be worsened with the opposite sex. Along with that I began smoking and taking strong drinks. Dancing was my wild hobby of the most outrageous and vulgar type.[7]

He went on to father three more illegitimate children, all by different mothers. In 1938 he tampered with a hire purchase agreement for a bicycle he was buying in an attempt to defraud the vendor and, having been discovered, anticipated being taken to court. In desperation he prayed that he might be saved from the public disgrace which threatened to end his recent engagement to a respectable young woman with godly parents. His brother-in-law, his father's lawyer and his mother between them succeeded in keeping him out of court and he was married the following year.[8] He wrote:

> After seeing how God heard and answered my prayer, I was determined to keep my side of the bargain I made with Him when I was in trouble... I promised the Lord that as I got married I would give my heart to Him... God accepted me as I gave my life to Him on the second day of July nineteen hundred and thirty-nine. After my conversion my friends began to limit me to remain in the church for short periods of time. This was done by both sexes of my former associates, for they say my conversion would not last for long, especially during the holidays such as August, Christmas, New Year and Easter. Those were times of extreme jubilance in all kinds of sport in which I was accustomed to share. However I continued to seek the Lord for continuing grace and He gave it abundantly so that I am continuing until now... and

> sure right I am receiving from God sufficient grace to carry on with Him.10

After his conversion, Nelson notes that: "the very first person I led to accept the Lord Jesus as her personal saviour was the girl who had the first baby girl for me when I was only seventeen..."11 His wife was less than enthusiastic about this!

In 1945 and 1946 he went to the United States as a farm worker.12 While in the South he recalls:

> On a Saturday morning I went to a shop in Youngsville, Louisianna and while I was in that shop a coloured man was standing in the line waiting to be served when a white woman came and stood behind him and he not knowing she was there stepped backwards and slightly touched that white woman and the coloured man turned around and made obeisance and apologised to her in such a humiliating manner so that it caught my curiosity. When I asked for an explanation for the man's reaction, I was told that this was one of the States where formerly torture and brutality were inflicted on the coloured people by the law of the State, for any misbehaviour against the whites, so this man was an elderly man in whom was the fear of punishment for any such offence.13

In 1947 he became a member of the NTCoG in Sterling, Westmorland and the following year was appointed as the pastor of a small branch congregation. This little church grew rapidly but it cost Nelson a nervous breakdown. He was promoted to District Overseer but financial hardship impelled him again to become a migrant worker in the United States for two years. From 1953 he was home in Jamaica earning his livelihood as a farmer and serving the church. By 1956 poverty again drove Nelson to seek work abroad.14

On the 8th August 1956 he arrived in Britain. Four days later, he was in London preaching for the Church of God in Christ. He worked as a goods porter and later as a senior checker. O A Lyseight - Overseer for the NTCoG in Britain - contacted him and in 1958 he moved to Wolverhampton to become District Overseer and pastor of the NTCoG congregation which met at the YMCA hall. British Railways arranged for his transfer to the Midlands but the cost of his move was great:

> When I went there I could have wept over the condition and the kind of work I had to do. I had to be loading and unloading train waggons with copper, steel and iron, sometimes in frost and snow working six days per week to earn £10.15

Two years later he got a job as a bus conductor and later became a trolley-bus driver. In 1960 his wife and children migrated from Jamaica to join him in Wolverhampton. By this time the Wolverhampton congregation had purchased a house in Nursery Street and the Nelson family lived there in near poverty. At the request of the congregation he gave up secular employment in 1962 to serve the church as its full-time minister on a weekly stipend of sixteen pounds.16 He was responsible for the construction and opening of the first purpose built black Pentecostal church in Britain.17 **The Express and Star** of 29th July 1962 reported:

> Hymn singing heralded the opening on Saturday of Wolverhampton's first church for West Indians.
> Outside the newly-built New Testament Church of God, Nursery-street, about 150 West Indians watched as six plaques, presented by district ministers from Handsworth (Birmingham), Stoke Newington (North London), Sheffield, Brixton, Kilburn and Gloucester

were placed on the walls.[18]

The opening ceremony was performed by the Chief Constable of Wolverhampton, N Goodchild.[19]

By this time Nelson's wife was dying of cancer. Without any consultation, the NTCoG moved him to Leeds the following year and in 1964 his wife died. A year later he remarried so that his young children might have a mother, and Lyseight - the National Overseer - moved him again, this time to a small congregation in Huddersfield which met in a Temperance hall until evicted for being too noisy. Nelson organised house-to-house collections, pledges from members and "programmes" to raise money for the purchase and renovation of an old church building. He sold off his own property in Jamaica to help finance his ministry and this acquisition. When the NTCoG asked him to move yet again, Nelson left the NTCoG to set up the Church of God Fellowship (CoGF). The NTCoG took him to court in an attempt to claim the church building in Huddersfield which the congregation has purchased with the help of Nelson's private funds. The NTCoG eventually dropped the case and the Huddersfield congregation purchased another building which became the headquarters of the new organisation which started as a single congregation in 1966 but incorporated three others in 1968. Currently there are also congregations in Birmingham, Walsall, Bradford, Cardiff [20], and Wolverhampton.[21] Both the Wolverhampton and Bradford congregations own church buildings.

Doctrinally the CoGF is virtually identical to its progenitor, the NTCoG. However the liberalisation of certain taboos within the NTCoG, such as the rules concerning women wearing head coverings while praying or speaking (preaching, exhorting and testifying) and not wearing trousers ("men's apparel"), is strongly disapproved of.[22]

The Wolverhampton congregation of the CoGF is an offshoot of the Nursery Street NTCoG congregation which Nelson had been pastor of from 1958 to 1963.[23] It met in rented school and church halls until it purchased its own small church building in Clarendon Streeet. The former pastor (now retired) who served this congregation from 1979 to 1988 came from the parish of St Elizabeth in Jamaica in March 1961. Brought up as a nominal Moravian, he was converted in Jamaica at the age of 37. He tells his own story:

> I was a young man, didn't believe in the Bible, didn't believe in Christianity. I didn't believe in God. I just live a heathen life. I always say that, "How is it that I'm on earth; how God can come down here; how it happens? It cannot happens." I believe, just live and have life. I drink a lot and smoke a lot and just live and enjoy life. And always people speak to me about salvation. I says, "Well how can it be; how can I stop these bad habits?" They say, "God can stop you." I said, "But how? I don't see. How can He stop me and I don't see?" Well I was thinking that somebody had to come down and lay hold on me and say, "Now stop from doing that!" But, you know, one day - it was 1960 - one Friday evening [in] October, I was travelling from a shop to catch a bus in Jamaica and it happens that I reach on a bridge and the river was running underneath - the

> water running down - and there was a fall - [a] big rock that the water falling on. And I stand on that bridge and I heard like - just like a voice call me and I look round and I see no one. Anyway, I felt different within myself and I travel home the night and I go into my wife (she was a Christian beforehand). She know something happen because I never used to pray... but I start to try to pray that night and she says, "Something happen." And just from there the Lord has changed my life completely. Just change me. I love my pipe - I throw them away and I throw my cigar and I throw my tabacco and everything and I just find myself different right from there... When those people travelled with Paul [on the Damascus road] they heard a voice but they see no man... well is just how it goes [for me].[24]

Although converted into the NTCoG, his home - like those of many black Pentecostals - has Roman Catholic pictures such as the sacred heart and the madonna dressed as a nunn and holding a crucifix. A crucifix also adorns the board on the front of the church building. Sunday attendance is around eighteen, comprising eight women, four men, three girls and three boys (all toddlers). Unlike most black Pentecostal congregations, prayer is seldom simultaneous but otherwise the services are indistinguishable from those in the NTCoG. This particular pastor used to punctuate his sermons with a habitual, "Praise God!" which averaged eleven times a minute and at times was totally inappropriate and out of context. This practice does, however, provide the time for thought necessary for preachers who rely on "inspiration" rather than formal sermon preparation. Doctrinally he differs from NTCoG and CoGF orthodoxy by rejecting sanctification as a "second work of grace" but in other respects conforms to their teaching. His understanding of sanctification, like that

of William H Durham, is that it should occur at the same time as conversion:

> To my belief, I think the moment you are saved, you should [be] sanctified. If I have it right, thats my belief.[25]

Since 1988 D Brown has been the pastor. The gloria patri is now recited after the reading of the Scriptures and the benediction is preceeded by the recitation of the Lord's prayer. Both of these practices seldom occur in black Pentecostal congregations except among a few of the independent Church of God type groups.

c. THE CALVARY RESURRECTED CHURCH OF GOD

The Calvary Resurrected Church of God (referred to as the Resurrected Church of Calvary in one of their own publications and as the Resurrected Church of God in the AWUCOC Handbook 26) in Wolverhampton was founded on the 2nd July 1967 by H G Plummer who is from a Church of Christ background in Jamaica. This congregation is part of a wider but very loose fellowship of six congregations in Britain and three in Jamaica whose "International Overseer" is G G Noel, minister of a congregation in London. Plummer, however, considers himself to be the bishop of the organisation in England. The other British congregations are in Kennington, Lewisham, Luton and Birmingham; and in Kingston, St Catherine and Manchester in Jamaica.[27]

Sunday worshippers at the Wolverhampton congregation, which meets in a rented church hall, number around eleven,

comprising five women, one man (the pastor), three girls and two boys. Unlike the NTCoG and CoGoP where the anti-jewellery taboos have been slightly liberalised, the Calvary Resurrected Church of God appear to have no restrictions whatsoever. The women and girls all wear earrings and many wear finger rings and bracelets. The services also incorporate more bits of 'historic' liturgy which are generally uncharacteristic of the North American Church of God groups but common in black-led factions. Prayer is often led by an individual without any antiphonal responses or simultaneous praying from the rest of the congregation The Lords prayer - which is seldom recited by black Pentecostals - is used both at the end of the first prayer and at the end of the service. After the lesson from the Scriptures, which is read with the congregation seated until the final verse when they all stand, the congregation recite the gloria patri, and do so again at the end of the service. The table at the front is set up as an altar with four candles on it.

The pastor is somewhat exceptional among many first generation black Pentecostals in that he is particularly concerned, not only with social but also political issues, and until 1987 ran the Moathouse Lane Neighbourhood Project which served as a training and advice centre. In July 1981 he was presented with a cheque for five hundred pounds from the Queen's Silver Jubilee Trust to help finance training for unemployed young people.[28]

d. THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOTAL ZION CHURCH

In 1796 a group of black Methodists withdrew from the John Street Methodist Church and from the Methodist Episcopal Church connection in New York City to establish an independent African Methodist Episcopal Church which was opened in 1800 and called 'Zion'. J P Thompson elucidates the reasons for their exodus from the predominantly white and white-controled Methodist Episcopal Church:

> ...caste prejudice forbade their taking the Sacrament until the white families were all served. This, and the desire for other Church privileges denied them, induced them to organize themselves...[29].

Although "supplied with Ministers for about twenty years" by the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Zion Church claims to be the first black Methodist Church in the United States to be independent from white control.[30] In 1813 they united with the black Asbury Churches in New York City to found the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and on the 21st June 1821 they met with representatives of similar groups from New Haven, Philadelphia and Long Island to unite as a single organisation. The word 'Zion' was added to the denominational title in 1848.[31] The 'Founder's Address', prepared after the 1813 merger states that:

> ...such was the relation in which we stood to the white Bishops and Conference [that]...our Preachers would never be able to enjoy those privileges which the Discipline of the white Church hold out to all its Members that are called to preach, in consequence of the limited access our brethren had to those privileges, and particularly in consequence of the difference of color... they have had no access to the

> only source from whence they might have obtained a support... Under these circumstances they believed that... the establishment of a Conference for the African Methodist Preachers of the United States... would be essential to the prosperity of the spiritual concerns of our colored brethren in general, and would be the means of advancing our Preachers...32

The 'Special Advices' of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, to this day, include a paragraph on slavery:

> We believe that the buying, selling, or holding of human beings to be used as chattels is contrary to the laws of God and nature, and inconsistent with the Golden Rule [do unto others as you would have them do unto you], and our Discipline. We will not receive any person into our Church who is a slave-holder. All our Ministers and people are admonished to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and seek its extirpation wherever it exists, by all lawful and Christian means.33

The AME Zion Church, in common with most Methodist denominations and in opposition to most black Pentecostals, practice the "baptism of young children"34

The AME Zion Church stated in Britain in 1970 when an independent congregation in Battersea, London, under the leadership of H A Gordon and Vincent Fagan, affiliated with the American headquarters and became the "mother church" for England. Gordon had been to the United States in 1969 and the following year Herbert Bellshaw, an AME Zion senior Bishop, came to meet the Battersea congregation and with representatives of other congregations which wished to affiliate. In 1971 there were only five congregations, including one in Wolverhampton and the headquarters church in Battersea. By 1983 this had increased to eight in London and eleven in the Midlands (four in Manchester

alone), making a total of nineteen.[35]

There are two congregations in Wolverhampton. The one which meets at St Pauls church hall in Merridale Street, in the words of their present pastor,

> originally came out from the Church of God of Prophecy and something went wrong and one of the Elder[s] leave the Church of God of Prophecy and form what they called the Triumphant Church of God [about 1959]. And then something went wrong and they left the Triumphant Church of God - somehow or other the pastor grew careless and grow backslidden - and the flock was [a]stray. There was no pastor; there was nobody that suited them; and [at] that time I was about to go home to Jamaica. And then I had to come along and rescue them. And then I stay here three years. That was in 1968. We started 68 as an independent church. '68 - '70 we was an independent group [which affiliated with the AME Zion church in 1971][36]

The pastor and his wife - also an AME Zion minister - were brought up in the Baptist, Seventh Day Baptist and Anglican Churches in St Thomas and Kingston. In 1947 he became a minister with the Assemblies of God in Jamaica (linked to the United States) and migrated to Britain in 1960. He attended his first Assemblies of God church in Britain, "but it was just an ordinary service; it wasn't really like a Pentecostal service."[37] In the second Assemblies of God church he attended, in Moseley, Birmingham, the worship was more acceptable but he left after six months having never been asked even to give a testimony: "They never ask you to say anything. You just sit there."[38]

He and another black Assemblies of God pastor from Jamaica, who had similar experiences with the British AoG,

worshipped together with a group in Birmingham. They wrote to their overseer in Jamaica and the AoG headquarters in the United States for help in "starting a work" in England. Only then did they realise that the American and British Assemblies of God are different organisations and that the American AoG were unwilling to become involved in Britain. The British AoG refused to recognise him or other Jamaican AoG ministers. He and his wife remain convinced that such recognition would not have been withheld if they had been white North Americans. "Right now," he says, "the New Testament Church of God has got a lot of the [American] Assemblies of God trained preachers" as a result of the rejection they experienced in the British AoG.

> They didn't want to know you... All the other ministers that was here before I came, they receive the same reception and had to go and rent school hall to have churches.[39]

Unlike most first generation black Pentecostal pastors, those from the Assemblies of God in Jamaica have undertaken Bible School training.

Average Sunday evening attendance at this church is about twenty-seven, comprising seven women, five men, thirteen girls and two boys. The Scriptures are read standing followed by the gloria patri, and the service includes a role call carried out by a deacon. As each member's name is announced they respond by answering, "present", quoting a passage from the Bible and the amount they are putting in the offering plate. The deacon records the amount in a

ledger against each name. Similar role calls are common in most three-stage and Oneness congregations as part of youth or auxiliary meetings but not as part of normal Sunday evening worship.

The congregation which meets in the hall of Snow Hill Roman Catholic Church, also recite the gloria patri after the reading of Scripture and carry out a similar role call, omitting however, to announce and record each contribution to the offering. This congregation, which has a woman as pastor, has an average Sunday evening attendance of twenty-seven, comprising - predictably - a higher proportion of men: six women, seven men, six girls and eight boys. The pastor came to Britain in 1960 and attended a Congregational Church. In St Ann, Jamaica, she had been brought up in an independent Baptist church with Scotish, English and American pastors. In 1965 her brother, who is now the pastor of the United Church of God in Wolverhampton,

> went and got saved into a Pentecostal church... After he done that I was rather conscious I did need something a bit more stronger than what [I had]. What I have [is] really good and I thank God for it but I need something more... Then I found out that the one-man church wasn't good enough - well it was good enough because it got me saved thus far - but I would like to have a wider experience of salvation. So he told me about a church... and took me. When I went there I didn't like it. They were really noisy, emotional and everything like that.. I was betwixt, because I know I really want something, but then what I saw, that side was too much; this side wasn't enough. But something strange began to happen each time that I go there. I get a quickening that I never experience before... I get caught up in it and each time that I come home and go to bed - have a

> talk with the Lord - it grows stronger and stronger... and so I change over to the Pentecostal... He [her brother] was with the Church of God of Prophecy... The time when he got saved, he point me [towards Pentecostalism].40

In 1973 she became a pastor with the AME Zion Church and started the present congregation in 1977.41

Because these congregations - and apparently all of the AME Zion congregations in Britain - had their origins primarily among three stage Pentecostals (CoGoP, NTCoG and CoGiC) it is not surprising that they have so much in common with this tradition that, in England, they are a Church of God type organisation under another name. While the 'Articles of Religion' of the AME Zion Church say nothing about believer's baptism by immersion, Spirit baptism, glossolalia 42, gifts of the Spirit or even a second work of grace, they do allow that:

> Every particular Church may ordain, change, or abolish rites and ceremonies, so that all things may be done to edification.43

Apart from some of the more formal bits of liturgy and the culturally specific liberty - which are both common in most of the small, independent Church of God groups - the AME Zion congregations are virtually indistinguishable in doctrine and practice from their Church of God progenitors.

Adult Sunday attendance in these independent black-led three-stage groups is about forty-nine, comprising twenty-nine women (59%) and twenty men (41%). There are

also some fifty-one children (ie those apparently under sixteen years of age) comprising twenty-three girls and nineteen boys. The CoGF and AMEZ congregations have around twenty adult members each and the UCoG and CRCoG congregations about nine each. Total adult membership is approximately seventy-eight, and special services will usually attract about double this number.

Notes and References

1. Interview with Carl Ellis, Officer of the United Church of God, 28th October 1986; Interview B22.

2. Interview B22.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Nelson, V R M, **The Sceptre of Judah**, the author, 1985, pp 110-113.

7. Ibid, p 113.

8. Ibid, P 119.

9. Ibid, pp 114,115.

10. Ibid, p 116.

11. Ibid, p 120.

12. Ibid, pp 121-124.

13. Ibid, p 124.

14. Ibid, pp 124-126, 129.

15. Ibid, p 129.

16. Ibid, pp 130-132.

17. Nelson, V R M, interview, 24th February 1989; Interview B20; Nelson, **Sceptre**, pp 120, 126, 127.

18. **Express and Star**, 29th January 1962.

19. Ibid.

20. The congregation in Cardiff has no connection with the white Church of God Fellowship in Great Britain in Newport, Gwent.

21. Nelson, interview; Nelson, **Sceptre**, pp 2,3,135-167.

22. Nelson, interview.

23. Ibid.

24. Interview B20.

25. Ibid.

26. **14 Anniversary Programme**, Resurrected Church of Calvary; **A Handbook of the Afro-Westindian United Council of Churches**, 1984 edition, London: The Centre for Caribbean Studies, p 53.

27. **14th Anniversary Programme**

28. **Express and Star**, 14th July 1981.

29. Thompson, J P, 'Committee's Address on the Origin of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in America' in **The Doctrine and Discipline of the African Episcopal Zion Church**, Charlotte, NC: AME Zion Publishing House, 1976 Edition, pp VIII, IX.

30. Ibid.

31. Thompson, Abraham et al, Founder's Address to the Members of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in America' in **Doctrines and Discipline**, pp 33,34; Wilmore, Gayraud, S, **Black Religion and Black Radicalism**, New York: Doubleday, 1972, pp 116,117; Frazier, E Franklin, **The Negro Church in America**, New York: Shocken Books, 1974, pp 33,34.

32. Thompson, et al.

33. **Doctrines and Discipline**, p 15.

34. Ibid, p 7.

35. Interview B17.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Interview B18.

41. Ibid.

42. Article 15 of the AME Zion Church, which follows that concerning "Romish doctrine" which is "repugnant to the Word of God" states: "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the primative church, to have public prayer in the Church, or to minister the sacraments, in a tongue not understood by the people."

This of course refers to Latin not glossolalia! **Doctrines and Discipline**, pp 6,7.

43. Ibid, p9.

APPENDIX C

THE 'APOSTOLIC' ONENESS CONGREGATIONS

It shall be light in the evening time;
The way to glory you shall surely find;
For it's the Bible way;
And it's the light today;
Baptised in Jesus' Name.
Young and old repent of all your sin;
And the Holy Ghost will enter in.
The evening time has come:
It is a fact that God and Christ are One.
- Oneness Pentecostal chorus

In 1914 the Assemblies of God (AoG) was formed in the United States by those Pentecostals who rejected the teaching that sanctification was a "second work of grace". Many of the white leading members of the AoG had been ordained by C H Mason's Church of God in Christ which is today the largest black Pentecostal organisation in the United States. Not only were the reasons for this division doctrinal but there was also a racial element. While some 30% of second-work - or three-stage - Pentecostals were black, only about 7% joined the overwhelmingly white AoG, two-stage, wing of the movement.1

In 1916 a second major split gave rise to the Oneness branch of Pentecostalism. From the birth of the movement in 1906, the radical biblicism which many Pentecostals espoused led to the literal application of Scriptural

texts. Luke's emphasis on the name of Jesus and its association with water baptism in the Acts of the Apostles resulted in some ministers administering believer's baptism in the simple rather than the triadic formula of Matthew 28:19. This became a divisive issue in April 1913, following a pre-baptismal sermon preached by Canadian Pentecostal, Robert E McAllister at the 'World-Wide Pentecostal Camp Meeting' in California.2 McAllister concluded his homily with the statement:

> The apostles invariably baptized their converts once in the name of Jesus Christ; that the words Father, Son and Holy Ghost were never used in Christian baptism.3

Early one morning, John G Scheppe, having spent the night in prayer, ran through the camp shouting that God had revealed to him the need to be baptised in the name of Jesus. Scheppe shared with others, not only his ideas concerning baptism but also his convictions concerning the "Oneness of the Godhead".4 The simplistic and anthropomorphic trinitarianism of the AoG - which often verged on tritheism - was to be rejected in favour of a modalistic or economic or revelational trinitarianism, although the word "trinity" was rejected as unbiblical in favour of the term "Oneness". Two of the Pentecostal leaders who attended the camp meeting, were influenced by the ideas of McAllister and Scheppe and went on to become pioneers of Oneness Pentecostalism were the black minister Garfield Thomas Haywood and the white minister Frank J Ewert. Within two years, baptism in Jesus' name and the

Oneness of the Godhead had become major issues in the AoG. Special conferences and articles in Pentecostal publications warned against this "new issue" as the Trinitarians and Oneness advocates polarised in mutual antagonism. Many of the Trinitarians became increasingly tritheistic, whilst many of the Oneness proponents developed a soteriology which included the three steps of repentance (death), water baptism in the name of Jesus (for the remission of sins; burial with Christ and baptismal regeneration) and "the baptism of the Holy Ghost with the initial evidence of speaking in other tongues" (resurrection and the consummation of the new birth - "the birth of the Spirit").5

In October 1916 the General Council of the AoG passed their sixteen point 'Statement of Fundamental Truths' which included strongly trinitarian ideas which effectively excluded supporters of the Oneness doctrine. Over a hundred congregations and 156 of the AoG's 585 ministers left, including most of the black Pentecostals who had joined the AoG when it withdrew from the "second work" (three-stage) camp. Thus the AoG were able, with a single blow, to purge their organisation of both 'heretics' and blacks and become a 'respectable' "lily white denomination".6

a. THE PENTECOSTAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE WORLD

Many of those who withdrew from the AoG sought to affiliate

themselves with explcitly Oneness organisations. At the end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917 the General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies was brought into being in Arkansas, but the entry of the United States into the First World War on the 6th April, 1917, meant that younger ministers were liable to be called up for military service because this new organisation was not recognised by the Clergy Bureau. Thus in January 1918 the General Assembly of the Apostolic Assemblies merged with the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World (PAoW) which had been formed in Los Angeles in 1906 and had now embraced the the Oneness doctrines. The PAoW had roughly equal numbers of black and white ministers and a year after the merger, the office of Chairman was held by the white minister, E W Doak, and that of Secretary by the black minister, G T Haywood.7 At least four out of the twenty-one Field Superintendents were also black. During the years 1919 to 1921 there was a further increase in black ministers and a concomitant disappearance of whites. By 1921, one third of the Executive Elders were black. Inspite of some racial tension and the loss of a few white ministers, the PAoW was a racially integrated movement between 1918 and 1924, although by 1922 many of the whites were moving towards a policy of apartheid.8 In November of that year the whites in the South held their own segregated Southern Bible Conference at Little Rock, Arkansas. The letter of invitation stated:

> You will be glad that the South, this fall, is to

> have a gathering of all the real saints of God... Our purpose in calling such a meeting is to work for greater unity; we all need one another... The South has long looked for and hoped for true fellowship and unity, and we believe this meeting will do a great deal to bring this about... We desire... through the Holy Spirit, to be able to love one another as He has loved us.9

Noble ideals for a segregated white homogeneous group!

In 1923 such statements as: "It was never intended that a black brother should be equal with his white brethren even in the Lord," were circulating.10 The split finally came in October 1924 when the Texas district changed their name to The Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ and voted to segregate the movement "under separate managements, one for the white race and one for the Colored race."11 Later the same month, at the Annual Convention of the PAoW, W E Kidson, spoke for the white segregationists:

> It was the general opinion that this (the problems arising from inter-racial organisation) was a hindrance to the spreading of the gospel. For several years it had been talked, pro and con, about separation, not on doctrinal lines, but on racial lines... During the convention, it was first proposed... that there be an Eastern and a Western division, the one exclusively Colored, and the other exclusively white - each to issue credentials to its own people. This proposal was rejected by the General Presbyters.12

Having failed in their attempt to create a segregated organisation, the majority of the white ministers met to establish an all-white Oneness organisation which they called The Apostolic Churches of Jesus Christ [1924] and later renamed The Pentecostal Ministerial Alliance (PMA)

[1925]. The following year, two other all-white organisations were formed: Emmanuel's Church in Jesus Christ [1925] and The Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ [1925]. In 1927 the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ merged with Emmanual's Church in Jesus Christ under the name of the former.13

Inspite of the withdrawal of the white segregationists, the PAoW remained a multi-racial, if black-majority, organisation.14 In 1931 the PAoW's presiding Bishop, G T Haywood died and a delegation of white ministers from the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ approached the PAoW with a merger proposal. The new integrated organisation was named The Pentecostal Assemblies of Jesus Christ (PAoJC) and the 'episcopal' polity of the PAoW replaced with the 'presbyterian' polity of the PMA. This re-integrated movement was short lived. The rump of the PAoW reorganised itself in 1932 and legislated that "there shall be no racial distinction whatsoever".15 When the white ministers sought to dominate the PAoJC and, in 1937, held their segregated National Meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the blacks left and returned to the PAoW. By 1938 the PAoJC had an all white board of presbyters.16

In 1932 the PMA changed its name to the Pentecostal Church, Incorporated and in 1945 it united with the PAoJC to form the white majority and white-dominated United Pentecostal Church.17

After the black exodus from the PAoJC back into the PAoW, the latter, though black majority, remained an inter-racial fellowship which was and is top heavy with white bishops (in the past one white bishop was elected for each black bishop) and bottom-heavy with black saints. The PAoW was the parent body from which many other black-led Oneness organisations were to split over issues of doctrine and practise, such as the remarriage of divorced persons, the role of women in ministry and the desire for power and preeminence. In 1919 Robert Clarence Lawson - having left the PAoW and for a brief time affiliated with the PAoJC - founded the Refuge Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith (CooLJCA); in 1957 S E Williams left the CooLJCA to establish the Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In 1957 S N Hancock also left the PAoW to found the Pentecostal Churches of the Apostolic Faith Association.[18]

The PAoW have 900 congregations in the United States, twenty-five in Jamaica and twenty-six in Liberia, West Africa, listed in their 1981 **Minute Book.** There are also congregations in Barbados, Monserrat, Nassau, Bahamas, India and Egypt. Their United States headquarters is in Indianapolis, Indiana with L E Brisbin, the presiding bishop. In Jamaica, N N Walters of Spanish Town is the National Overseer and in Britain, Benjamin A Pitt of London. In Britain there are eight congregations with two

located in London and one each in Birmingham, Dudley, Coventry, Nottingham, Manchester and Wolverhampton. The Wolverhampton congregation was founded in 1984 by A McKenzie who continues to serve as minister of another PAoW congregation in Birmingham. McKenzie and Pitt had been affiliated to S A Dunn and the First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic), of which more will be said later, but left to join the PAoW in 1969 after a dispute over the practice of re-baptism. This congregation, which meets in a rented school hall in Newhampton Road has a Sunday attendance of about eighteen comprising five women, five men and eight children. Inspite of their small numbers they have purchased land and plan to erect a building on Stafford Road.

b. ONENESS PENTECOSTALISM IN JAMAICA AND THE FIRST UNITED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST (APOSTOLIC) IN BRITAIN

Oneness Pentecostalism appears to have first arrived in Jamaica in 1919 when Canadian missionaries came to Brown's Town in the Parish of St Ann and established an indigenous leadership in the person of G A Lee. From there the Oneness message spread throughout the island. Particularly influential were Melvine E and George A White who worked in St Elizabeth and Kingston and were responsible for the introduction of a nation-wide process of church planting.19

In 1934 Randolph A Carr left the largely trinitarian but tolerant Church of God in Christ to found the Rehoboth

Church of God in Christ Jesus (Apostolic) in Baltimore, as an explicitly Oneness organisation. In 1936 the Rehoboth Church split when George White established the Union Apostolic Church which split again in Jamaica in 1938 to form the Shiloh Apostolic Church under C C Walsh. A year later Walsh joined the PAoW but left again in 1944.20 There are over 60 Shiloh congregations in Jamaica with related origins but they do not all belong to the same organisation.

In December 1954 Sidney A Dunn, who had been ordained a bishop by Walsh of the Shiloh Apostolic Church in Jamaica, sailed for England. Arriving in Folkstone on the 9th January 1955, Dunn travelled by train to Birmingham where he established a Oneness congregation which moved to its present location at a rented Unitarian Church building in Gibson Road, Handsworth, in September of the same year. In 1957, Dunn travelled to Baltimore to affiliate with R A Carr's Church of God in Christ Jesus (Apostolic). The Unitarian church building was purchased for three thousand pounds in 1959, given the name of 'Bethel' and extended to treble its size in 1963 to accommodate the growing congregation. Many other congregations were started by, or have chosen to affiliate with 'Bethel'.21

In 1956, after a period of rapid growth, the organisation split with many of the British congregations which had been affiliated to Carr's Church of God in Christ Jesus

(Apostolic) - including Dunn - leaving to affiliate with a break away organisation named the First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) [FUCoJCA]. Although Carr had been divorced for several years, the split was caused by his decision to remarry. In the United States the new organisation was led by Monroe R Saunders and in England by S A Dunn.22

In 1968 and 69 yet another schism rent the movement. Saunders, with the support of Dunn, insisted that all ministers and members must be re-baptised (a second time) in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and supported this edict by reference to Revelation 2:5:

> Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works... (KJV).

Many pastors and their flocks in Britain and Jamaica refused to comply and left the FUCoJCA to affiliate themselves with other Oneness groups - the PAoW and the Bible Way Church of our Lord Jesus Christ Worldwide (BWCooLJC) - or to return to the Carr's Church of God in Christ Jesus (Apostolic) [CoGiCJA]. For some this may have been a convenient excuse to sever their ties with the sometimes autocratic Bishop Dunn and to achieve advancement in more democratic organisations.23

In Britain, the BWCooLJC has twenty-one congregations with headquarters and a small Bible School in Lewisham, London, under the leadership of L E White. The United States

headquarters are in Washington DC with Smallwood E Williams as the presiding bishop. The CoGiCJA has six congregations in Britain under the leadership of R G Anderson in Wembley, Middlesex. The leader in the United States is now Bishop Barnes. Neither the BWCooLJC nor the CoGiCJA have congregations in Wolverhampton.

In Wolverhampton, the most influential minister of the FUCoJCA is Herman D Brown bishop and pastor of the Mount Shiloh Church in Hickman Avenue. Herman Brown tells his own story of the establishment of black Pentecostalism in this country:

> I landed at the West India Dock, London, 12th November,1950... I came over on the 'SS Jamaica Producer' ship. England was the place where you looked forward to go for jobs. 'Cause most of the people who had training looked to Britain. The craze those days was to go to the United States. Then they [the United States McClaren Walter Act] barred immigration so we turned to Britain; being a member of the Commonwealth. We came here, and the same weekend that I came here I started a prayer meeting at No.5 Conaught Road. It was a big boarding house. The landlady was Mrs Laura Freeman - an English woman. Nobody else would take us in and she took us in. Sixty of us in that house - Jamaicans, Africans, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian, Yugoslavian, Chzechs, Poles, English, Irish - everybody... Quite a few Polish ones, those who understood English, come [to the prayer meeting]. We had those prayer meetings for quite a few Sundays until I found the Pentecostal Church in Dudley; Pastor Giles church; Assemblies of God. And I went there for a few Sundays but it was too far for me. So what I did, I start to go into the Salvation Army in Wolverhampton on a Sunday morning. Because the English Pentecostal church didn't preach a sermon on a Sunday morning and we were brought up that way - a Sunday morning teaching service. They also do the Holy Communion. So I used to go to the Salvation Army every Sunday morning. Pastor Lyseight and myself and Pastor Elisha Davis (he was from the Church of God of Prophecy)...

We started our first service at the old YMCA, Faulkland Street. It used to be a Church of England church called St Mary's... Our first meeting at the YMCA was held in the canteen on the 6th September 1953. The first sermon preached was preached by Pastor Elisha Davis. The subject was taken from the book of Nehemiah: "I'm doing a great work and I'm not coming down." I questioned myself after I left: we're only just started, has he seen anything great? But those words were prophecy and the work grew and grew until 1955. Pastor Peddy said to us, "why don't we go back to the New Testament Church [of God]." Because at that time we only had a fellowship; we were not belonging to any denomination. To keep the sides together; the Church of God of Prophecy brethren and us [the NTCoG] together we just worship in a lose fellowship... Well [in] 1955, Elder Peddy said, "Let's contact them [the NTCoG]." So we agreed and Tennessee said they'll come; they'll send somebody to see what they'll do. They send one of our senior ministers from Jamaica, Reverend Steadman. He came. He didn't carry it on. He went back. So Bishop Walker from America [US], he came on the 22nd June - was a Wednesday - 1955. We congregated at the Salvation Army Citadel, Cleveland Road and there the small congregation they had a vote and the people voted me to be their pastor. I was the youngest of them all and I didn't have the mind to be any pastor because they were my seniors. But the people say, "We'll have you to be the pastor." And I took up my pastorate [on] the first Sunday in July of the same year. [This was a] New Testament Church of God... They [the CoGoP] didn't make any fuss, you know, Pastor Davis - as I said: a very nice man - he said to us, "Well now brethren you're gone back to your original church and we will go back to ours. In those days it was not known as the Church of God of Prophecy. It was known as the Bible Church of God... And we say, "fair enough." And they left us and congregated... [at a school near to where Herman Brown's Oneness church now stands].

[Unlike the CoGoP which had small white congregations in Bedford and Luton] the New Testament Church [of God] didn't have any work before we came here. I am the first pastor - licensed pastor - of the New Testament Church [of God] in this country. When I took over as pastor, Tennessee make him [Oliver Augustus Lyesight] the Superintendent over the small work because he had pastoral experience from home.

Four years after, because I had - even in those days - I had in mind that the baptism in Jesus' name must be right. If it begun with the very inception of the

Church, where is it today? Well I kept it to myself because to them it's a strange doctrine. When I found out I couldn't hide it for very long so I began to ask questions. The more I asked, the more I get myself in trouble. I left Wolverhampton and started a church in Balsall Heath [,Birmingham, while remaining pastor of the Wolverhampton congregation] - a New Testament Church [of God] - and make all my plans to baptise the converts there... When I got there they wouldn't let me baptise the converts because they knew I was going to baptise them in Jesus' name. So they kept hold of me and they used to preach against these things in my presence because they knew my leaning toward them. So in 1959, that was the break. I loved those brethren. Up to now I dearly love them because I was cradled there from my youth. They taught me holiness. But you see, I must follow my own conviction. They didn't believe this, and I left. I remember I held my last service on the 19th July 1959. The morning service... the last thing that we sung: "Jesus is a shepherd wiping every tear"... and closed the service. And I said to the brethren, "Now I would like to speak to you." I said to them, "I'm going today." They were shocked! I said, "I'm leaving this church." One brother said to me, "Where are you going?" I said, "I'm like Abraham, but I'm going and all I want from this church is my wife and my three children." I left and Sunday evening after dinner I was on my way up to the Church of God of Prophecy church to preach for them before I go off to work - because I used to do shift work. I met a brother coming down [who] said, "Pastor, I've been to church and never seen you, what is happening?" I said, "Well, I told you I'm not coming back." He said to me, "Not coming back! If it's even in your front room, you have to start a church..." Oh that hit me!...

I was the one that used to stand at the old market patch... with my little pocket book. Get down the names, visit them and pray for them. No other who was so much interested in their life... The brother said, "You got to do something." I said, "Lord am I in trouble? Gather them and leave them like that." So I started. I started the work at North Road, by Waterloo Road. 1958 when the West Indies federated together the islands, they got a hall from the Council there as the Federation Centre. Mr Bethune, was Assistant Jamaican High Commissioner, come up one day while I was at work. Said to my wife, "Mrs Brown, I heard that Pastor Brown is doing a great work in this town. I have a hall for him." That was about two weeks before I left the [New Testament] Church of God. Then it look as if I make preparation to leave, but I didn't. God new what was going to

take place. I said to him, "Mr Bethune, I don't need a hall. I'm already in one at the YMCA." He said, "Never mind, even a Sunday School will do there." So I said, "OK, I'll do it." And two weeks after that I have to leave, so I fell right into the hall.

That Sunday morning when we assembled there it was eighteen of us assembled in all, including mother, father, children. We made six pounds offering. We bought about twenty-five **Redemption Hymnal** from the CLC Bookshop in Birmingham. When I took the church (The New Testament Church [of God]) as the pastor, [at the] YMCA, I took it with 50 pounds in the bank. I left it with 645 pounds in the treasury. I asked them, "We all put together and raise this sum. I am going, would you give me even the 45 pounds?" The officers said, "No, your disobedient, we're not giving it." I said, "Fair enough." But that morning when I had my first service we got enough money to buy our books. That was the 26th. We left the 19th and started on the 26th July 1959. We moved from that place the 13th September to the adult school in town. We left the adult college 1974, build a church - this church. Before that, 1968, we bought this whole place: the whole tract of land and the house [the site of 'Mount Shiloh': The First United Church of Jesus Christ (Apostolic) in Hickman Avenue, Wolverhampton]. It cost us 10,000 pounds.

How I got into this. One of our young sisters fell sick and was in New Cross Hospital. One day I was praying with her and I saw this Catholic priest and he was talking. He said, "Where is your church?" I said, "I havn't got a church building but we have a congregation... at Old Hall Street (it was in those days a technical school). From there, he said, "Come and see me Tuesday..." [at Hickman Avenue where the church now stands]. That was thirty years ago. When I came... have a chat, drink a cup of coffee and showed me around in the yard. I said, "My goodness, this is great. We could build on to the house like." After all here was a bush. He took me outside and led me through the bush here and said, "This is where you're going to build your church." I said, "Here?" He said, "Yes. There's 1,885 square yards of land there to build a church." So he said, "I want 15,000 pounds for it. Will you buy it?" I said, "Oh Yes, I will!" At that time I had only 1,060 pounds - trust the Lord. Afterward I rang him a week after and said, "Father, its too dear. The price is too high." He said, "13,000 pounds." I said, "Oh yes." So I called the valuer and the valuer came and say, "The most it worth is 9,000 pounds; between eight and half and nine thousand." Right, came back to Father and I said, "Father, the valuer said this." He said to me,

"I can't go below 10,000 pounds." So I said to him, "A deal Father!!" And I questioned myself after... have I done the right thing?...

From February to April I raised 5,000 pounds in the congregation and I borrowed 5,500 pounds from the bank... And then we struggled along... at the school there [the school ajoining the land on which the church was built was rented on Sundays for worship until construction was completed]. They were very awkward sometimes with the time. We keep a very long service, as you know. They used to ring this bell there; frighten the life out of you!... And then 'Mount Shiloh', as we call the place [was built and opened and we] established ourself. Then we start evangelising all around... The word 'Mount' to me is symbolic of the House of the Lord: the Church. 'Shiloh', which is a Hebrew word, means 'the peaceful' or 'the pacific'. So we call it Mt Shiloh... I started July '59. Start baptising people by November and did not intend to join up with anybody. You build up, you work hard with people and when they see your prosperity they want to chuck you out. However one of my sisters in the church heard Bishop Johnson, from the States, preaching Jesus' name baptism. She said to me, "Why don't you join with Bishop Johnson." Well I listen [to] Johnson. I didn't like his ministry. You see, Johnson, to me doesn't believe in anyone else beside himself. You can't be so exclusive to think that you are the only child of God or the only Christian believer. I don't think thats right. So I withdrew... but there is a Pastor Dunn here, why don't we call him. I've heard they don't believe Jesus had any Father but lets call him and find out. So I drew up the doctrines I believe... We believe in one divine being: God the Almighty. We believe that Jesus Christ is not a second God but is the visible manifestation of the invisible God. It pleases the Father to tabernacle himself in a form: "He who sees me sees the Father." We believe the Holy Spirit is not a third God but the very manifestation of the Eternal God...[24]

In 1968, when Saunders and Dunn began to insist on rebaptism, Brown opposed the practice but remained loyal to the organisation. Rebaptism, he argues, was based on

> a misunderstanding of Deuteronomy chapter five. You see, circumcision, no man can be circumcised twice. The children - the male children - that was born in Egypt were circumcised there. But seeing it was a mobile church moving from one place to another, they didn't have the chance to circumcise them as they

> would have done in Egypt... So they really miss it there and cause a terrible rift... They say, one man got up and was confessing during the convention about how he felt in himself and feel like he want something more in his life. So he said, "I feel I can be baptised again... Do the first work over..." I had a very hard battle, 98% of the people were against me for not saying, "Yes" to that. I have not said, "Yes." I will not say, "Yes." And I'll never say, "Yes", to it...

Inspite of Brown's opposition to rebaptism, he was consecrated as a district bishop in 1978 and serves as deputy to Dunn who is the national presiding bishop. In 1985, three more district bishops were elevated.[25]

Herman Brown is a-typical in many respects. While most Oneness Pentecostals conceive sanctification to be an ongoing process and a few, from a Church of God background, continue to teach that it is a "second work of grace", Brown's view approximates more closely to Durham's "finished work of Calvary" position which makes regeneration and sanctification coterminous:

> To me it [sanctification] is not a first or a second or a third work of grace. To me it happens as soon as you get to Christ and surrender your life.[26]

Nor does Brown believe that water baptism is salvific as the majority of Oneness Pentecostals do. While he does believe in an imminent Second Advent, he rejects the ideas held by most black Pentecostals in Britain - and their white North American co-religionists - that Christ will return in a secret rapture and that there will be a restoration of Jewish temple sacrifice. Brown's integrity and refusal to toe the party line has not prevented him

from being installed as a bishop in his organisation and has resulted in the considerable respect he is accorded by the wider Christian community - both black and white - in Wolverhampton. In 1988, central and local government grants, totalling 80,000 pounds, were awarded to Mount Shiloh to enable Gilmore Grant and Ruth Bernard (Herman Brown's daughter) to run a community project which currently includes providing advice on small businesses, health education, classes in music, electronics and, in the near future, in sewing and catering. Grant also runs an individual job search programme with the motto:

> To people who say, 'I'll take anything that's going,' I say, 'Anything that's going never goes anywhere.'[27]

The average attendance at Mount Shiloh is around 124 with 46 women, 29 men, 31 girls and 18 boys (i.e. under 16 years of age). All but ten of these young people are in their teens.

Currently the FUCoJCA have some forty congregations in Britain. In addition to those in Wolverhampton and Birmingham, there are churches in London, Smethwick, West Bromwich, Walsall, Dudley, Redditch, Stafford, Stoke-on-Trent, Derby, Coventry, Ipswich, Wellington, Worcester, Leicester, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Liverpool, Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford, Reading, Trowbridge, Mitcham and Cardiff. In the United States there are some forty congregations; in Jamaica there are

eight, under the leadership of W W Penman in Kington; there are over a hundred congregations in West Africa and about forty in India. The two other affiliated congregations in the borough of Wolverhampton both broke away from Brown's Mount Shiloh church but remained within the organisation.

The pastor of the congregation which meets at All Saint's Road came from C C Walsh's Shiloh Apostolic Church in Jamaica. Arriving in Britain on the 3rd April 1956, he was struck by the lack of faith in England and by the "coldness", "deadness" and lack of welcome given to black people in the white churches. Even at the Pentecostal AoG church in Temple Street, he was made to feel unwelcome and unwanted. He worshipped with the CoGoP congregation which met in a schoolroom on Waterloo Road for ten months. Then with a group of Oneness Pentecostals who met in a community hall on Wanderer's Avenue under the pastorate of C Channer, and ultimately joined with Herman Brown at Old Hall Street.[28] In 1969 this congregation split from Brown and Mt Shiloh following the re-baptism issue during which time Brown had become involved with white ministers from the UPC - Fred J Turley and Mervyn D Miller. The average Sunday attendance at the All Saint's Road congregation is currently about 58, comprising 18 women, 13 men, 15 girls (all teenagers) and 12 boys.

The pastor of the Bilston congregation came to Britain in

1959 from a Presbyterian and Baptist background in Jamaica. He and his congregation also split from Brown and Mt Shiloh during the time of the re-baptism issue. Current Sunday attendance is around 21, comprising 11 women, 8 men (one of whom is white) and 2 boys. This congregation, more than any other I have visited, uses glossolalia to 'trigger' enthusiastic manifestations. At the end of a typical service the pastor called for silence which lasted two or three minutes before he burst forth in other tongues. Virtually the whole congregation erupted in screaming, dancing, motor behaviour, falling to the floor and talking in tongues. Gradually these enthusiastic manifestations subsided, only to erupt again with increased intensity when nuclear members burst forth in another torrent of glossolalia.[29]

While the average Sunday attendance at FUCoJCA congregations in Wolverhampton is only 203, and seventy-eight (38%) of these are under 16 years of age, the total number of adherents who attend regularly or sporadically is probably double this figure. Typically, women outnumber men but there is less imbalance than in many other organisations: seventy-five (60%) male to fifty (40%) female for adults and forty-six (59%) to thirty-two (41%) for those under 16 years of age.

c. THE CHURCH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST (APOSTOLIC)

The founder of this organisation, R C Lawson, was baptised

in the name of Jesus and received his glossolalic baptism in the Spirit in 1914. Sometime later "a supernatural event took place in his life namely the miraculous healing of his body from consumption."30 This experience had a profound effect on Lawson and was the inspiration for his "faith healing ministry".31 Lawson claims to have been called by God into the ministry when the Lord spoke to him through a whirlwind, saying: "Go Preach My Word! I mean you! I mean you! I mean you! Go preach My Word".32 After forming small PAoW congregations in St Louis, Missouri and San Antonio, Texas, he moved to a pastorate in Columbus, Ohio and became a Field Superintendent with the PAoW in 1918 before travelling to New York where he started the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith (CooLJCA) in 1919.33 The organisation grew rapidly and missionaries were sent to Africa and the Caribbean. Lawson himself visited Britain late in 1923, returning to the United States on board the SS Celtic which sailed from Liverpool in mid December.34 In 1945 Lawson's congregation purchased Greater Refuge Temple at 20/81 Clayton Powell Boulevard, which was to be the 'Mother Church' of the organisation in New York's Harlem district.35

In 1957 the CooLJCA suffered a major schism when J E Williams left to found the Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and four years later Bishop Lawson died and was succeeded by a "board of Apostles". The organisation has apparently suffered at least one more major split since

then. The current presiding bishop is W L Bonner in New York and the organisation boasts over 500 congregations in the United States, over 30 in the British West Indies, 11 in Africa and 5 among US servicemen in West Germany.[36]

The CooLJCA are a classic black American Oneness group with articles of faith virtually identical to - and some cases copied verbatum from - the PAoW. Their **Discipline Book** expands on the distinctive Oneness doctrines of "The Being and Unity of God" and the "Reasons why we Baptize in Jesus' Name". The former is couched in solemn quazi-theological credal language:

> ... there is but one God, in essence and in person - one - from Whom and in Whom there is a divine three-fold manifestation and relationship made known as the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost... Christ is that God.[37]

The only major doctrinal difference from the PAoW is the teaching of the CooLJCA that divorce and remarriage constitutes the sin of adultry irrespective of the circumstances, and must be confessed and forsaken if one is to enter Christ's Kingdom.[38]

The CooLJCA currently has over 30 congregations in Jamaica under the leadership of David Thomas of Kingston. The British section was first established in 1957 by Hudel T Rowe who came from the CooLJCA in Jamaica and is overseer of the nine congregations in this country, four of which are in Wolverhampton. In 1961, this organisation was split when many congregations left to set up a British section of

the Bibleway Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ under the leadership of L E White.

The CooLJCA congregation which meets in school premises on Ferndale Avenue has a Sunday attendance of about 13, comprising 7 women, 2 men, 3 girls and one boy. There is considerable percussive emphasis in their services with clapping, drumming and the playing of tambourines becoming faster and faster until a crescendo is reached. At this point everyone may sit down quietly or the whole congregation may erupt in shouting and liturgical motor behaviour. The same is true of the congregation which meets in Cyprus Hall which has a Sunday attendance of around 41 comprising 13 women, 5 men, 15 girls and 8 boys. This is probably the most energetic congregation in Wolverhampton in terms of dance and motor behaviour. Starting with a swaying motion which shifts the weight alternately from one foot to another, and often accompanied by foot tapping this escalates to a standing bend at the knees and waist followed by a jerk which straightens the body and causes the worshipper to leap off the ground. Arms are raised and windmill or oscillate too and fro as the whole body is swiveled from the knees upward or bends sideways at the waist.

The third CooLJCA congregation meets in a rented church hall on Stubby Lane. Like most black congregations, services often start late but make up for it by going on

for several hours. The CooLJCA, however, usually manage to start even later than most. It is not unusual for people to arrive one and a half hours after the start of the service and for the service itself to commence three quarters of an hour after the scheduled time. With a Sunday attendance of around 40, comprising 13 women, 9 men, 12 girls and 6 boys, liturgical motor behaviour and dance are much in evidence and the pastor punctuates his sermons with, "Praise Him!" at the rate of six times a minute.

Finally, there is a congregation which meets in a rented church hall in Springfield. The Sunday worshippers, who average 33, comprise 15 women, 4 men, 5 girls and 9 boys. Like all CooLJCA services, their worship is characterised by a great deal of shouting and liturgical motor behaviour which reaches a crescendo near the end of the sermon as the pastor stamps his feet. With arms swinging upwards and downwards as if swimming or held stiff downwards behind the back, the worshippers jump, twitch and hop. One young woman lies on the floor boxing with her arms and shouting. As the service ends no one seems particularly exhausted by their exertions.

Although the average Sunday attendance at the four CooLJCA congregations, which had their origins in the 1950s and 60s, is only 127 with 59 (46%) of these under the age of 16, the total number of adherents who attend at least

irregularly is probably double this figure. Adult women outnumber men by 48 (71%) to 20 (29%).

d. THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST

The Church of Jesus Christ is a three-stage Oneness congregation of uncertain and indeterminent origin which meets in a rented school room and is independent of any organisation. It has an average Sunday attendance of seventeen people, comprising eight women, one man (the pastor), four girls and four boys. The pastor, who arrived in Britain in 1960, teaches that both a "second work of grace" and baptism in Jesus' name are necessary elements of salvation but accepts those who have undergone baptism in the triadic formula as "brothers in Christ." In St Catherine, Jamaica, he had attended an Anglican church but was unwilling to disclose the origins of his congregation in Wolverhampton. Of all the black-majority congregations I have visited, this is the one where the use of drum rhythms is most obviously related to altered states of consciousness. The pastor plays a hand drum which, together with numerous tambourines, is used to produce very fast and powerful rhythms. Changes of pitch and tempo precipitate high levels of emotional arousal, dancing and other liturgical motor behaviour and some trance-like states. While such manifestations are also brought about in response to preaching, testimonies and solos - as they are in most Oneness congregations and to a lesser extent in Church of God congregations which are free from white

control - the use of strident rhythms is more in evidence here than anywhere else in Wolverhampton. Herman Brown's and other FUCoJCA and CooLJCA congregations, often manifest similar but less extreme behaviour. The young man who plays the drums at Mt Shiloh, for example, will often continue to beat out a rhythm after the music and singing has ceased. Were he allowed to continue, there would be an escalation and prolongation of physical manifestations and some altered states of consciousness, but Bishop Brown regularly stops the drumming before this 'point of no return' is reached, although a young women - and some who are not so young - may by this time be thrashing around on the floor with older female nuclear members containing her activities and ensuring that her motor behaviour does not lead to immodest exposure. Some other pastors do not apply such control. As the tempo and volume intensify the congregation of the Church of Jesus Christ begin to jerk sideways from the waist, bending at one or both knees they jump and shake as arms wave or windmill. With eyes closed they dance and jerk and fall prostrate with legs and arms flailing. No one seems to suffer physically from these exertions and full rationality has returned by the time they leave the service.

e. THE UNITED PENTECOSTAL CHURCH

During the late 1950s many black Christians who had been members of the UPC or other Oneness groups in Jamaica, worshipped at a white-led Assemblies of God church in

London. This particular congregation was attractive to Oneness Pentecostals because its pastor administered baptism using the simple formula - in Jesus name. By 1961, however, the black Oneness Pentecostals had left to establish a UPC congregation in Battersea under the leadership of J M Brownie. In 1965 this minister and congregation played host to the European Conference of the UPC. The following year, dissension within the congregation, inspired in part by Brownie's (or his wife's) lack of financial accountability resulted in a split with Brownie leaving for the United States to join the International Ministerial Association.

Early in 1967, the three-quarters of the congregation which remained asked a white UPC missionary, Mervyn D Miller, to become their pastor. Lloyd G Edwards, a black Jamaican, and James H S Dallas, a Northern Irishman became assistant pastors. Miller had grown up in a Christian home in Northern Ireland and at an early age was miraculously healed from the crippling effects of polio. He became a song leader and assistant pastor in the Church of God - a Oneness Pentecostal organisation founded by Gordon McGee and effectively restricted to the 'six counties'. Miller left Ireland to evangelise in the United States for ten years, coming to England as a UPC missionary with his American wife and daughter in October 1965. Under his leadership the congregation grew and, although primarily black, it had a significant number of white members. They

moved to Stretham and eventually bought their own church building - Calvary Temple - in Camberwell. Miller left Britain for Italy and the United States in 1975 and the pastorate was taken over by a black minister Samual G Sappleton. With the change from multi-racial to all black leadership, the white minority left. This congregation currently numbers about 350.

The UPC now have twenty-five congregations served by thirty-one ministers in Britain and, inspite of its segregationist origins in the United States, is the most racially integrated of the Pentecostal organisations in this country. Twenty-one of its ministers are black and ten are white (three English, one Scotish, one Northern Irish, one Polish and four from the United States). Unlike the three-stage and other Oneness organisations, the UPC does not have an 'episcopal' form of government. It's ministers elect officials at their annual conference. Currently the offices of Superintendent, Secretary/Treasurer and one District Presbyter are held by whites. A second District Presbyter and the Home Missions Director are black. Although the organisation is inter-racial most of the congregations are not. The majority of the black-led congregations are primarily black and most of the white-led congregations are all white. Three other groups, primarily composed of American servicemen based at Mildenhall, Lakenheath and North Essex, have white American ministers. Their most integrated

congregations, two in London and one in Birmingham, are led by white ministers James Dallas and Mark Gadd and by black minister James Austin.[39]

The UPC have one congregation in the Borough of Wolverhampton. It dates from 1968 and was established by a white minister, Fred J Turley who was ejected from the Assemblies of God by his father for re-baptising people in the name of Jesus. Although predominantly white this congregation has had both Afro-Caribbean and Asian members. Currently, the Sunday attendance is around twenty-one comprising seven women, five men, seven girls (one of Afro-Caribbean origin) and two boys (one of Afro-Caribbean origin). Most of the UPC congregations - including those which are exclusively or predominantly black - demonstrate considerably less ecstatic liturgical motor behaviour than the other Oneness groups which are not under white control or influence. Like the NTCoG and the CoGoP, the UPC is far more culturally and liturgically ambivalent than those without white bishops.

For all black Pentecostal congregations in Wolverhampton, claimed membership is, on average, 45% higher than attendance and the number of adherents who attend at least sporadically is about the same as the average Sunday attendance. Thus, on a typical Sunday, there will be 202 adult black Oneness Pentecostals at worship in the Borough of Wolverhampton: 131 female (65%) and seventy-one male

(35%). Membership is approximately 293 and the total number of both adult members and adherents is around 400.

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34. Salter, James, diary entry for December 15th, 1923 records that while on board the SS Celtic, on passage from Liverpool to the United States he met "a coloured Pentecostal brother who belonged to the new issue" and that the minister's name and address were "R C Lawson, 56 West 133rd Street, New York City, USA."

35. **Discipline Book**, pp 9-11,13; Rowe, H T, Interview, 21 February 1989.

36. One of the bishops on the board of Apostles resigned in 1969. Ibid, p 12; Interview B 9; Rowe, H T, Interview, 21 February 1989.

37. **Discipline Book**, pp 14,15.

38. Ibid, pp 42-46.

39. Dallas, James H S, Interviews, 20th April, 1984 and 12th July, 1989; Price, Charles, Interview, 20th April 1984.
Charles Price, the son of a white UPC minister, went to Jamaica as a faith missionary in 1957 and again from 1964 to 1965. He came to Britain from Jamaica in 1965 having acted as Protestant Chaplain on board the SS Monserrat. He worked with other Oneness Pentecostals from July to September 1965 when he moved to London to involve himself with the UPC.

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